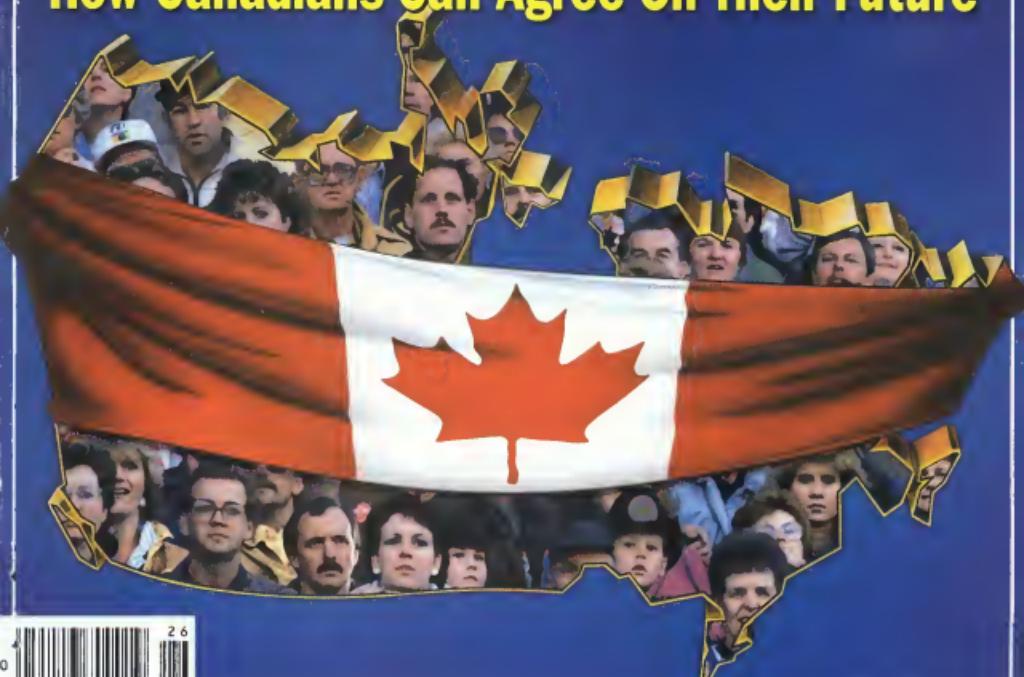


Maclean's

SPECIAL
REPORT

THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

How Canadians Can Agree On Their Future



26

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Opposite: Members of the All England Croquet Club pose for a group portrait in 1872. Above: The Venus Rosewater Dish, the women's singles trophy at Wimbledon.

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Rolex Lady Oyster Perpetual and Men's Oyster Perpetual Duetos in mother-of-pearl and 18k gold with matching jubilee bracelets and diamond dials.

Rolex Oyster Perpetual Datejust II.



FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK



The Tools For The Job

What impresses is the unencumbered emotion of the 12 Canadians who took part in a summit. Maclean's organized from June 7 to 10. The magazine had formed the group by choosing its members from so-called thought clusters that Deacons Research, Maclean's regular polling firm, had cobbled out as representing the dominant lines of thinking in the nation. They ranged from conservative Quebec separatists to urban contrarians. They met at a secluded Ontario resort, the Bearers on Lake Simcoe, with Harvard law professor Roger Fisher, a pioneer in conflict resolution theory, and two of his colleagues, Stuart Diamond and Robert Kaczmora, from the Cambridge, Mass.-based Conflict Management Group. Not only are they the best in their field, but the participants welcomed them as non-Canadians who brought a dispassionate attitude to the task given to the 12 Canadians. To see if there is still enough will and ability among representative Canadians to create a framework for a new and acceptable country. At the end of the process, they did just that—but by developing a formal constitution or a legal document of any kind, but by developing a vision with which they all agreed, a statement of national principles and areas details of a renewed federation, a package that all 12 participants enthusiastically agreed. The document even contains a specific action plan for implementing the reforms that they recommended.

But one of the most striking elements of the remarkable weekend was the sheer strength of the emotional attachment

that the participants showed for Canada—either Canada as it is, or a Canada that could be. And as that kind of Consideration emerged, it did not enthrall by the traditional undercurrent of anti-Americanism. In fact, when Kaczmora, a young, non-native Harvard law graduate, had to leave early, his attempt to depart quietly was interrupted by a woman from Quebec who had gone to the Bearers as a consultant-separatist. She embraced him and wept openly. Then, the others followed her, some of them weeping too. Finally, Maclean's himself began to cry and Fisher, standing in the background, began to dab at tears.

In the end, Diamond said, it seemed clear that the techniques used at the Bearers could be applied on the national level to resolve some of Canada's most intractable constitutional problems. Adds Diamond: "The real lesson is that a dozen people, selected for their differences and representative of various Canadian viewpoints, could, over a weekend, deal effectively with their differences and come to agreements, using a systematic process of analysis and discussion."

That observation gains significance because some prominent Canadians are now quietly discussing the establishment of a radically different constitutional assembly, elected provincially and made up of about 300 citizens who are not politically active, to draw up a new constitution that would then be voted on in provincial referendums and, if approved by all of them, would be adopted by all legislatures in the country to become law. Fisher's conflict resolution methods would be a precious tool in such a process.

Kris Doyle

Maclean's

DRAMA'S MUSICAL HARMONY

By Karen Doyle

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Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSPAPER
JULY 1, 1991 VOL. 104 NO. 25

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The 15 participants, left to right: Stuart Diamond, John Fries, Vicki Ganzel, Schoeller, Charles Dupuis, Marie Lefebvre, Roger Fisher, Sheila Simpson, Karen Adams, Carol Golden, Coni Allegro, Karen Collings, Richard Miller, Colin Finn, Robert Lonsdale and Robert Ringhouse.

SPECIAL REPORT



THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

— 10 —

Twelve Canadians scientifically chosen for their differences met with conflict resolution experts for a weekend—and produced a remarkable vision for Canada

THE 12 WHO SHARED

— 12 —

It was a weekend of discovery—and self-discovery—for the dozen individuals from across the country who participated in the Maclean's forum on national unity.

A CANADIAN RENEWAL

— 26 —

The forum concluded that national unity must extend beyond the dry wording of the Constitution to include economic renewal and better communication among Canadians.

A WEEKEND OF CANDOR

— 34 —

In their main meeting room, at outdoor gatherings and over meals, the 12 participants engaged in searching, and frequently teaching, dialogue in pursuit of their mutually held vision of a nation.

TO CLARIFY A VISION

— 52 —

In their final test, forum members spelled out their suggestions for creating a renewed country "in which all Canadians would feel fully accepted, at home and fairly treated."

THE GETTING-TO-YES BUSINESS

— 58 —

A three-man team led by world-renowned Harvard law professor Roger Fisher showed forum members how to set aside their preconceptions about one another and recognize their common interests.

THE VOICES OF A NATION

— 62 —

Toronto-based Decisive Research identified the "clusters" of thought that represent the main thinking patterns of the nation, and helped Maclean's find the individuals who fall under the umbrellas of those specific beliefs.

THE THREE REFEREES

— 66 —

The three conflict resolution experts who guided the Maclean's forum brought a wealth of experience to the task.

THE EXPERTS' REPORT

— 68 —

Looking back on their weekend seminar with 12 Canadians, the American negotiators concluded that the country could learn a lot from the participants' experience.

THE ROOTS OF CONFLICT

— 70 —

The British North America Act created a state, but in its ambiguity it also set off a constitutional power struggle that haunts Canada 124 years later.

LETTERS

IN DEFENCE OF THE FORCES

I cannot begin to tell you how relieved I was to read about the Canadian government's plan to cut back on the armed forces ("Mistress and master," Cover, June 17). While most people would like to think that we do not need soldiers, they are looking chauvinistic. Even in today's so-called enlightened times, we still need protection.

Janice M. Gahan,
Annanster, Ont.



Officer graduates: "we need protection"

Perhaps Mila Mulroney should be tested for steroids. In your piece today, she is shown leaving for a 30-km walk at 8:30 in the morning, yet by 9 she has returned. If she passes the test, maybe she should be on Canada's Olympic team.

Jim Ballinger,
Toronto

PAINTING THE WRONG PICTURE

In "A tradition of democracy" (Canada, May 20), the painting described as "the Fathers of Confederation in Charlottetown" is actually a depiction of our Fathers in Quebec City. The original painting was done by Robert Harris and purchased by Rev Woods after the original was destroyed during the fire on Parliament Hill in 1866. Harris had been commissioned to do a painting of the Fathers in Charlottetown, but the painting session he took place a month later (in October, 1864) at the Quebec conference.

George Morrison,
Charlottetown Area Tourism
Industry Association,
Charlottetown

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Please include address and telephone number. Mail envelope please! Letters to the Editor: Maclean's Magazine, 1000 Yonge St., Toronto, Ont. M4S 1A7.

TAKING PROBLEMS

Yours June 17 article "Mad as hell over taxes" (Canada) was right on the money. I voted with interest the reference to a 66-per-cent increase in federal personal income tax revenue since 1984. In fact, that point in common with the 486-per-cent increase Ottawa has added to the payable income tax during the same period. Particularly disturbing is the trend of governments to justify such increases on the basis that they will encourage conservation. I shudder to think what will be the next self-righteous excuse governments will find for swingeing our wallets.

Michael S. McNeil,
President, Canadian Automobile Association,
Ottawa

DARK SUITS AND ARROGANCE

I think Brian Mulroney thinks that the proper way of today's political masters, even at a podium, is to reflect only dark suits and leathered jackets, he should then, as a good "The private Prance Maciste," Cover, June 17, in properly arrange feathers. He has dressed his arrogance as travel—but he ought to know his image: your photo essay would have portrayed a caring leader participating in a community service project, or visiting a food bank.

D. C. Keenleyside,
Scarborough, Ont.

I do not get the message that Maclean's or Brian Mulroney is trying to convey in "The private Prance Maciste." What I see is the

PASSAGES

SUSPENDED: By Athlete Canada, from competition for at least two years, Calgary sprinter Brian Morrison, 22, after testing positive for a banned steroid, Nandrolone. In the 1992 Olympics, Ben Johnson, 26, tested positive for the same drug, stanozolol, which is also banned by the International Olympic Committee. Morrison, a two-time Canadian junior champion who replaced Johnson on the Canadian relay team after his disqualification in Seoul, was considered one of Canada's 1992 Olympic hopefuls. He said that he had been using a steroid cream to treat a shoulder injury. Also suspended is Morrison's twin, a New Zealand sprinter who trains in Calgary. William Headlehan, 22.



For her role in CBS' TV's *My Father's World* from 1953 to 1958, and such movies as *Leaven* (1945) and *Dark King* (1945).

RECOVERING: After the amputation of his right arm last summer, Atlanta Sun-Dial Publisher and San Francisco Giants pitcher Dave Drayton, 33, in a New York City hospital, Atlanta, Georgia, recovered from his pitching arm. Drayton made a dramatic comeback in August, 1989. But at a short-lived, Drayton broke the arm twice afterwards, once that August and again two months later.

REHAB: Movie and TV actress Jeanne Eagels, 69, of cancer in a Los Angeles hospital. A former model, Eagels was known as a former model. Eagels was known as a former model.

BORN: To two-time Oscar-nominee actress Meryl Streep, 42, a daughter, Louisa Jacobson. Gummer is the fourth child of Streep and her husband, sculptor Donald Gummer.

DEAD: Movie and TV actress Jeanne Eagels, 69, of cancer in a Los Angeles hospital. A former model, Eagels was known as a former model.

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THIAMIN 3%	IRON 5%	
RESCINOL 18%	ZINC 0%	
NIACIN 5%		

PERCENTAGE OF RECOMMENDED DAILY INTAKE

A healthy supply of many vitamins and minerals is just the beginning. Eggs also offer a high quality protein that has become the standard by which other protein foods are measured. And all that food value is packed into just 75 calories.

There really isn't another food like eggs. Few foods, if any, are as versatile.

We could literally fill this magazine with ways to enjoy them.

And, as far as cholesterol is

concerned, there is more good news. The most up-to-date research has revealed that for most people, the cholesterol in their diet has little or no effect on blood cholesterol levels.

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And a single large egg contains only 1.5 grams of saturated fat.

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In the meantime, the main thing to remember is that eggs are more than just a chance to eat properly, they're a chance to enjoy it as well.

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THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

How Canadians can surmount differences to agree on their future

"Conflict is a growth indicator. People are going to bring it up more and more frequently, and we need more and more skills to deal with it."

—Conflict resolution expert and Harvard law professor Roger Fisher, addressing participants in the MacLean's forum on national unity

They have nothing about one another except that they had at least chosen for their differences. At the invitation of MacLean's, 72 Canadians had travelled as far as 3,000 miles to spend five days together discussing Canada's future at a critical time in the nation's history. They met at a sequestered Ontario resort, under the glow of TV lights and the watchful gaze of a team of MacLean's reporters and editors. The tone was sober, the pressure was intense and, still, they managed to work some magic. Asked to come up with a vision for the future of Canada, they began their task with a remarkable, and rarely unpredictable, decision: they chose those broad topics for discussion, only one of which involved specific constitutional issues.

Another was the economy. And the third was what they called "cultural federalism"—focusing on a failure to communicate that they saw as at the heart of Canada's current crisis. What is more, the 12 agreed—both in their own deliberations and in the session at large—that these three elements should be discussed consecutively. To do so, the participants effectively pitched the national unity debate from the legislative, constitutional perspective where Canada's leaders have kept it, and placed it squarely at the daily concerns of every Canadian.

Their imaginative approach led them to produce a wide-ranging 18-page document of "joint suggestions" for reenvisioning the nation (available, page 28, text, page 32). It also confirmed the theory that led MacLean's editors to conceive the forum in the first place. Even as unity committees and task forces crosshatched the nation at the scale of the collapse of the March Lake accord a year ago, a critical element was missing from the national debate: real dialogue. While these committees have been valuable in giving many Canadians a chance to air their complaints, they have not provided a forum for productive discussion of the issues among Canadians with differing views. It seemed likely that if that kind of forum could be created, some civil reconciliation would emerge.

At first, end, MacLean's presented a challenge to its regular polling firm, Toronto-based Decima Research, to identify the same patterns of thought that together provide a portrait of the national psyche, then provide names of people who fall into those categories. The first part of the process, known as modern polling circles or "cluster analysis," took several months (Decima's process, page 62). Next, Decima staff began phrasing Canadians with an 80-part questionnaire. By early May, MacLean's had a shortlist of 35 Canadians with firmly held beliefs that spanned the spectrum of six clusters of thought, ranging from socialist Free Democrats through compromise-seeking Peacemakers to Hard Quebec Separatists.

Then, through a series of follow-up interviews, MacLean's reporters



PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID WILSON

and editors narrowed the field to 21 articulate potential participants, from Bemidji, Minn., to Richmond, B.C., all willing to defend their points of view, and all of them interested in meeting with people of differing opinions. By agreement with Decima, MacLean's chose one other criterion: to assess Canadians from outside the process, because traditional telephone polling methods do not achieve a representative sampling from widely dispersed rural/urban communities. Why that, a group of six women and six men who in place (available, page 32).

Meanwhile, MacLean's had also undertaken a search for the best possible assistance in leading the group to a productive discussion. All leads almost inevitably pointed to the breeding ground of modern conflict

resolution practice, the Harvard Negotiation Project based in Cambridge, Mass. Expertise in the new negotiation methods has been growing rapidly in Canada over the past decade. But Canadian practitioners would inevitably bring an emotional stake and regional bias, to the process. As well, most of them are teaching techniques that they, or their teachers, learned at Harvard. As a result, MacLean's chose the strongest possible combination of objectivity and expertise, and called in the services of the party of conflict resolution, Harvard University law professor Roger Fisher. A veteran of dispute resolution in many of the hot spots of the world, Fisher, 68, developed the theory of "principled negotiation," in which the search for common interests replaces argu-

ment over non-negotiable demands. He and two of his colleagues accepted the challenge of helping divergent Canadians rediscover the interests they share (their technique, page 58; profile, page 66; their report, page 68).

The encounter took place from June 7 to 10 at the Bear's Den, a pictureque resort 60 km north of Toronto on the shores of Lake Simcoe. Its 1800s-vintage inn building and spacious, wood grounds provided an attractive backdrop for a crew from the CTV television network, who recorded the weekend's events for a special edition of the public-affairs program *N5 or Sunday*, Friday, June 30.

Did the participants love this country? That was never the intention of MacLean's. Decima or the negotiating group in undertaking the project, but the conclusions that they reached, and which all of them signed, point clearly to the social, economic and political problems that frustrate Canadians most. More hopefully, they also indicate many of the ways in which these representative Canadians believe that those problems can best be solved.

Many of these choices of suggestions challenge specific institutions to take on particular tasks, from school boards, arranging more student exchange programs within Canada to the office of the prime minister initiating a national economic plan to identify and take advantage of Canada's competitive strengths. They also call for a broad range of political and constitutional reforms previously aimed at making government more directly responsive to the wishes of voters.

The two Quebec separatists participated fully in an exercise aimed at designing a better Canada, and one of them ended the weekend saying that she had seriously rethought her beliefs. They also agreed, along with the native participant, that despite their differences, the pros and cons of all the various constitutional options should be examined thoroughly before Canadians reach a final conclusion. Their joint declaration said: "And before making any decision to abandon the goal of a Canada for all Canadians, we should look with equal care at what would be a realistic vision of a sovereign Canada, a sovereign Quebec and self-government for the First Nations."

Did the event provide any lesson for the country as a whole? Twelve Canadians, representing widely divergent views of the country's problems, demonstrated that a discussion that followed a course radically different from traditional negotiations can lead individuals away from rigidly held positions and into a concerted effort to define and defend their collective interests. In the end, all 12 strong-winded participants, chosen for their differences, put their signatures on a single vision of a way towards a better Canada. Brewster Richmond Grove, caustic Richard Miller, while not buying into Fern Federated position "I changed from trying to convince that most of the group to buy in with my views as possible, to reaching an agreement that would make all of us satisfied." Added Montreal lawyer Charles Dupuis, a self-described sovereigntist: "I observed the willingness of people to listen. That may be a start."

Constitution Affairs Minister Joe Clark has laid the groundwork for a new 30-member parliamentary committee to study the unity issue, starting in the fall. But so far, he has not encouraged the government to bring in non-politicians onto the process, or to provide for a constructive dialogue. Even the government's just-compiled constitutional committee did not do that. The Canada Forum on Canada's Future, chaired by former journalist Keith Spicer, spent \$27.4 million trying to "deepen the dialogue" by inviting to about 400,000 Canadians to public and private meetings, telephone calls and mailed-in reports from local gatherings across the country.

It will report on June 27. But its process rarely allowed participants to move beyond reporting on the problems to discussing possible solutions. As MacLean's organizers, Brewster Richmond, David Hyndman and Spicer, at a May briefing session, "In most cases, the dialogue never took place." The experience of the MacLean's forum indicates that if a national dialogue ever does take place, it would be an extremely productive process.

ROBERT MARSHALL

The 12 Who Shared

Forum members found common interests behind widely divergent views



They were chosen not for the common ground they shared, but because they disagreed. The 12 participants in the Maclean's national unity forum were accidentally selected by the magazine and *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* to represent and articulate the sweep of the country's divergent views after the current unity crisis. From committed separatists to hard-line Quebec separatists and unapologetic serving sailors/Canadians. All of the participants are awaiting at least some change in their opinions over the course of the weekend at a luncheon retreat in Ontario. They also spoke about their new appreciation for one another's interests—and a shared sense that everyone has a role to play in solving Canada's problems.

KAREN ADAMS

Toronto

Karen Adams sat by herself under the protective cover of 80-foot black-leaf trees, carefully reviewing the 16-page document that the six and 11 other participants had just drafted during the Maclean's weekend forum on the future of Canada. Later, in an interview, the 34-year-old law firm designer and consultant from Toronto said that the quiet reflection near the end of an intense weekend was essential: "I needed the time to digest it," she said. Like several other participants, Adams began the retreat barely influenced by her life in business. "I felt very apathetic coming from Toronto," she said. "But then, I realized that is why we are the strongest province financially and that is what we do as important to the rest of Canada. Someone has to pay the bills." The most important discovery, she added, was realizing how much the weekend had changed her and the other participants. "When the meeting started, we were divided by geography, economics and ethnicity," she said. "Now, I am confident in the Canadian people. I was a bit nervous about the country, but my faith has been reinvigorated."

Born in Ontario, Ms. Adams was educated at Burlington's Lord Beaver High School, then graduated from nearby Sheridan Community College with a diploma in fashion design in 1977. A year earlier, she had married, her husband, Ken Adams, 40, a Toronto-based data processor and software marketer. Adams began her own career after graduation by establishing a downtown fashion custom for 12 years. In 1988, she started her own business. "I was nervous about going out on my own at such a time in the business industry," she said. "About 50 per cent of Canada's knitting industry closed down." That first, she said, prompted her to participate as a subcontractor of the fashion design, with the national economy. "I use my industry crutch," she said. "I wonder where we'll be in the next five to 10 years."

As the author of her own book, *Knit Like a Pro*, K.A.S., Adams oversees design, stitching, styling and marketing of knitwear sold to retail chains and department stores. "I develop color, shape and design, and work with contract manufacturers, either domestically or abroad," she explained. She returned from a two-week visit to testing and embroidery facilities in China only a week before the gathering. "We still try to support the domestic knitting plants, but imports are such amazingly low prices," she said. "Other countries have the labor in a lot of hand knitting at low wages."

The workspace of a bright, cluttered second-floor office, surrounded by



colorful fabric samples, overlooking Spadina Avenue in Toronto's fashion district. Away from the office, she is a fan of the movies and ethnic culture. She and her husband recently bought a two-story brick house in the leafy suburb of Leaside. Her work takes her to Montreal once a month, but Adams does not agree with Quebec separatists—Deutsche Presse-Agentur is a firm proponent. During the three-weekend, the dammed narrow definitions of citizenship irrelevant. "When I travel abroad, I never say I am from Ontario," she added. "I always say I am Canadian," she said. And afterwards, she observed that the experience had confirmed her confidence in "the human spirit to survive," adding: "If we could just prove that one, we would unite as a country."

CYRIL ALLEYNE

Montreal

An ardent golfer, Cyril Alleyne gazed wistfully at the green lawns of the Lake St. Louis resort where the 13-member Maclean's cleavage had met to discuss Canada's future. "I would have brought my clubs," he said with a laugh, "but they told me I wouldn't have time for a round." The 51-year-old master of Maclean's M&G Security, a manufacturer of tools, safes and other equipment, said that he approached the weekend "gathering with curiosity—and a little wariness." "I did not know what to expect," he said. But by the end of Shirley's groundbreaking session, Alleyne said that he was surprised at how productive the discussions had been. "I would never have thought we could do this in only three days,"

he said, shaking his head. And in the end, after the agreement on a joint statement, Alleyne did manage to sneak in five holes of golf with a set of rented clubs.

In his role as a manager, Alleyne says that he excels in delegating work and building a sense of responsibility in employees. His continental vision seems to take those practices into account, although he calls himself a federalist, he says that more power should flow to the provinces. Decarie's analysis identified him as a Quebec Moderate. He was critical, however, of what he called the "toward-looking mentality" of people in his own province. Quebecers generally do not bother to travel, he said, or to learn enough about the outside world before making decisions about their role in it. He added: "Even when they do go outside the country, it's usually to Florida, where they stay in Hollywood—with all the other French-Canadians."

Overall, Alleyne said, he is optimistic about the future of Canada, principally because he has detected some changing attitudes among his francophone acquaintances who favor sovereignty. Said Alleyne: "A lot of the people I talk to are suddenly beginning to question the whole idea of separation."

Alleyne immigrated to Canada from Barbados with his family in 1947, when he was 10. He grew up in the east end of Montreal, and says that his was the first black family ever to live in theimmigrant neighbourhood. His parents used to attend Mass, but when they settled in, "we were settled in." He served three years in the Royal Canadian Navy as a radio operator and married a French-Canadian woman. They divorced and moved to the east Montreal suburb of Anjou. He has one daughter—Charlotte, 26—a granddaughter two years old and two nieces and nephews. A competitive sportsman, he plays softball in a recreational league, hockey and tennis, as well as his favorite, golf. He also enjoys music and reading.

Alleyne was one of the quietest participants during the Maclean's weekend, something that he himself remarked on and that he and passed him. "I am normally very outspoken," he said on Saturday evening. "But I seem to be very quiet now." As he left the weekend gathering, he mused: "I traveled last night, after we came up with the income statement, about whether I spoke up enough to convince some of the English Quebecers. I guess I am a thinker before I am a talker." Clearly, Cyril Alleyne was not the only participant in the forum on Canada's future who left the sessions with a lot to think about.



VIOLA CEREZKE-SCHOOLER

Edmonton

Edmontonian and social-worker Viola (Vi) Cerezke-Schooler, 54, says that she took a passionate concern about the rising rate of poverty to the Maclean's forum on Canada's future. "I am up to my ears in the events that are destroying Canada's social safety net," she said, "and about what will happen to children and many Canadian adults." Cerezke-Schooler, a Fed-up Federale, according to Decarie's analysis, said that she believes that Quebec has legitimate complaints caused by rising hunger and poverty rates. But that its best chance to retain its French culture is to stay in Confederation. Acknowledging that an independent Quebec would need to maintain its trading relationship with the United States, she declared: "The United States won't give a hoot about the French far." She added: "English has emerged as the language of trade and commerce. Quebec cannot escape that." Still, as Cerezke-Schooler prepared to leave for Edmonton at the end of the three-day conference, she noted that many western Canadians share the sense of isolation that Quebecers feel. "If Quebec is not interested," she said, "it is normal to pull out. But when it understands that there are creative ways to stay together, then the province could change."

Cerezke-Schooler was born in Moose Jaw, 120 km northwest of Regina, and is the granddaughter of pioneer Alberta homesteaders. She graduated from high school and gained a nursing certificate at Alberta Hospital in 1960. After working at the Alberta Social Services child welfare department, she completed her bachelors in nursing degree at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. In 1968, she received her bachelors of social work at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, and then worked for 34 years in family counseling in Edmonton and in Calgary before obtaining a master's degree in sociology at the University of Calgary in 1979. She has lectured in social work at Grant MacEwan Community College in Edmonton.

An avid book collector, parlour and globe-trotter who has twice visited China—and who travelled to Guatemala the week after the Maclean's forum ended—Cerezke-Schooler says that her favorite Canadian city is Montreal. "I would live on St-Denis Street at one of those little walk-up apartments," she said. As well, Cerezke-Schooler says that she enjoys a wide spectrum of music, including opera. She is married to

PHOTOGRAPH BY THE MACLEAN'S STAFF

Herbert Comeau, an environmentalist with the federal department of forestry in Edmonton, and they have two bilingual children. Daughter Jill, 24, is a graduate of the University of Alberta in anthropology and English, and son Mark, 21, is about to begin studies at an Edmonton community college.

After the MacIvor's forum adjourned, Cerecke-Schoeler, a strong Canadian nationalist, had high praise for the conflict resolution skills that a three-member team from the Harvard-trained Conflict Management Group exercised in helping the 12 participants develop their final statement. "What is clear," she said, "is that you can have strangers with no idea of Quebecois who use a process to have an honest way what we think and are afraid of. And they allow to suspend judgment and show us how to pick out the common ground between." Recalling her visits to Gaspésie, she added: "The Chinese interpretation of the word 'crisis' means an opportunity on the tail of the dragon. Danger means opportunity, and we have an opportunity to create something remarkable here."



KAREN COLLINGS Fenwick, Ont.

Karen Collings lives close to the earth at her home in Fenwick, Ont., a rural community that sits high on the Niagara Escarpment among orchards and vineyards. The slender, 45-year-old wife, who now works at a couple of part-time jobs at the Wentworth County General Hospital, 10 km southwest of Fenwick, has a good deal of her roots in the culture of the Niagara region. But when she moves from that work to relax on the deck attached to her house, Collings's view expands—on a clear day, as far as the hills of Pennsylvania, more than 150 km to the south. In a sense, her view of the country underwent a similar expansion of horizons as Collings participated in the MacIvor's forum on Quebec's future. From an spansie-bachendorf that the nation seemed to be heading for a breakup, she says, her outlook changed. "I realized many are not cut-and-dried," she said. "I realized that it is not over for Quebec, that they are still ready to listen."

The impression of Quebec that Collings carried to the forum was based partly on memories of a visit 25 years ago, when she found the

people friendly—they spoke English. Her visit as a teenager was her first to Quebec. Although she and her husband of 21 years, Benjamin, have travelled as far afield as Florida, Mexico and Colombia as winter vacations, and have time to take aside the 11-hour car trip to Toronto to watch the Blue Jays play baseball, the focus of their lives is the Niagara Peninsula. Ben works as an industrial engineer with General Motors of Canada in St. Catharines, about 20 km northeast of Fenwick, and their only child, Christopher, 13, has just completed Grade 8 at E. L. Crossley Secondary School in nearby Port Stanley.

Karen Collings's more recent impressions of Quebecois, she said before taking part in the forum, is that "they are hurting—obviously from what they say about themselves and the rest of Canada." She said before the forum that she was uncomfortable with the public funding of bilingual services at the expense of other programs, even though 25 per cent of the 44,570 people who live in Welland are francophones. She also balked at the idea of an economic association between a politically independent Quebec and the rest of Canada. "To me," she said then, "that is not being part of Canada." Still, Collings, when Decarie's charter analysis identified as a Pausenauer interpretation weaker, added: "Wouldn't it be wonderful if we all agreed, Quebecois came out happy and the politicians did what we asked?"

After the forum at the Brinsford, Collings said that she was surprised how open the end, that the 12 participants "agreed to listen to one another and take things out." In those discussions, she suggested that understanding between Quebec and the rest of Canada should be concerned with young people in the classroom and in their communities. "We will talk to the government and the schools," she said later. For her part, Collings said that her family had been planning a summer vacation in Myrtle Beach, S.C. After her experiences at the forum, however, the family now plans instead to travel to Quebec or Canada's East Coast. "That is starting small, but it is the grassroots," she said. For a woman accustomed to working close in the earth and taking a longer view of the world around her, that is an approach that holds the promise of satisfying results in the life of Canada.

CHARLES DUPUIS Ste-Thérèse, Que.

Charles Dupuis, a young Montreal lawyer who has worked actively for a sovereign Quebec, was an outspoken advocate for that cause at the MacIvor's forum on Canada's future—and a Hard Separatist according to Decarie's advance analysis. A resident of suburban Ste-Thérèse, Dupuis, 33, is a specialist in environmental law, the partner in a two-man law firm that operates out of a modest suite of offices above a canoe shop in Ste-Thérèse, on Montreal's north side. "I am a typical Béginian lawyer," he says. "I love to fight." But as a participant at the MacIvor's sessions, his weapons were as often a clear respect for the democratic process—and a fertile sense of humor—as a readiness to press deeply held convictions.

Noting that his wife, Nancy de Courcy, is an osteopathologist...they met as teenagers but married only four years ago after he was established at law and she had graduated...Dupuis quoted André Gide's jest that marriage is an arrangement in reverse because "the older you get, the less you are willing to let go of the person you have." He himself is interested in the more-recently-published, collected books of 20th-century history. He enjoys hours at a local chess and plays golf and softball. He says that he also likes to cook, and enjoys boating after their three young children.

But during the three-day encounter, Dupuis did not shrink from cataloguing for his fellow participants his views on the differences between French- and English-Canadians and his concern that francophone culture is threatened within Canada. Dupuis was a member of the Parti Québécois from 1976 to 1983, but resigned from the party after its commitment to sovereignty-association weakened in the wake of the defeat of that choice in the 1980 Quebec referendum. He campaigned actively for the "yes" side in that poll. And he said that he had been concerned that the discussions with English-Canadians about the future of

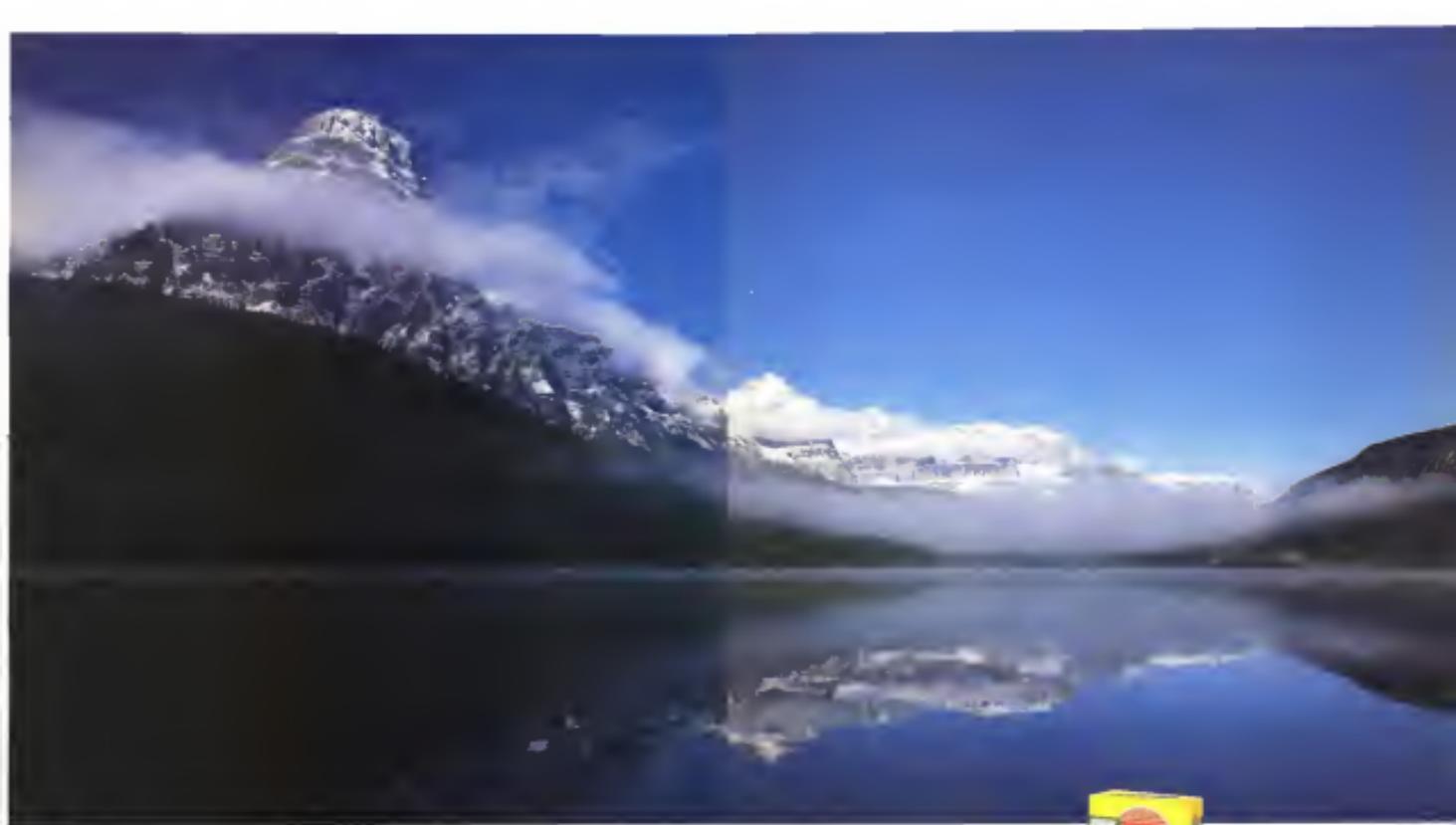
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THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT



the country would be bitter and hostile. "I was worried that I would look like a Canadian in a box of lions," he said. "Fortunately, I had a chair, but no whip. They respected my point of view, I think."

The lawyer said that the weekend improved his knowledge of English Canada. But the sessions did not dispel all his worries about Canada's federal system. Declared Dupuis: "This was not like St. Paul on the road to Damascus. I did not 'see the light.' One has vision at life. I will not change the way I live." Indeed, Dupuis added: "Nothing has changed for me really, or for the others. I think I still believe in sovereignty and I still think that we need a lot of autonomy so Quebec becomes more."

Still, Dupuis said that he was impressed with the work accomplished with the help of the team of Harvard negotiation experts. He added: "If we have another meeting of the 12 of us, it would be a great comeback." The discussion never deteriorated into mudslinging matches, he noted—"the only thing you would prove by insulting somebody is how dumb you are"—adding that the final list of directions for the future of Canada produced and signed by the group was an impressive display of democracy. Declared Dupuis: "I believe in democracy, and something is a super exercise if you improve democracy."

COLIN FINN Ottawa

The weekend was over, and Colin Finn was showing clear signs of behavior modification. At 31, Finn was the youngest of the 12 participants. He was also, at first, one of the least forthcoming. But on Sunday afternoon, wearing a blue felt pen, he stood in front of his colleagues eagerly interacting with encouragement as he marked down their suggestions on an easel. Of his initial hesitance, he said: "I was completely unsure of what the objectives were. I had no idea if it was just going to be a bickering session. But people came prepared to talk, to get rid of excess baggage." By the close of the meeting on Monday morning, Finn was enthusiastic about the techniques that had been used to help resolve differences over national unity. "This is not selling our own ideas," he said. "It is trying to understand the basic needs of people."

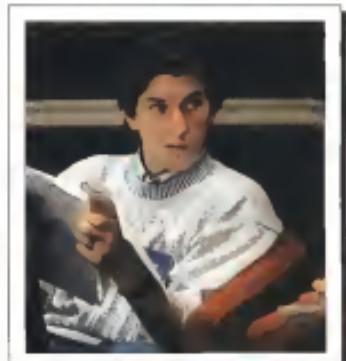
The last, Kaganov, 40-plus, Finn is the sales director for a Canadian software company, on Corp Systems International, based in

Kanata, just west of Ottawa. After graduating with a degree in electrical engineering from Queen's University in Kingston in 1981, he worked for three years as a systems engineer for Micro-Gen in Kitchener, before completing a master's degree in business at the University of Western Ontario in London. On graduation, he fulfilled his dream of working for a small Canadian high-technology company in the Ottawa area by joining on, where he started in customer service. Since then, Finn has risen rapidly in the company, which has grown to 30 employees from nine. He now spends 40-plus hours a week throughout Canada and the United States. His wife, Stefanie, teaches English as a second language to high-school students who have immigrated to Canada.

Finn arrived for the working weekend a firm believer, according to Deacon's analysis. He told Deacon that his main concern about Canada was the amount of energy being spent on the country's constitutional problems. He said that issues such as the national debt and long-term industrial strategies should be given more attention. With many people suffering through a recession and worrying about their next meal, tensions are bound to grow, he told the forum on Saturday. Declared Finn: "I think the whole constitutional debate comes down to that very fact. If you could get past the issue of Canada rapping itself apart because we don't have enough jobs to go around, people would be happy enough to live and speak whatever language comes first."

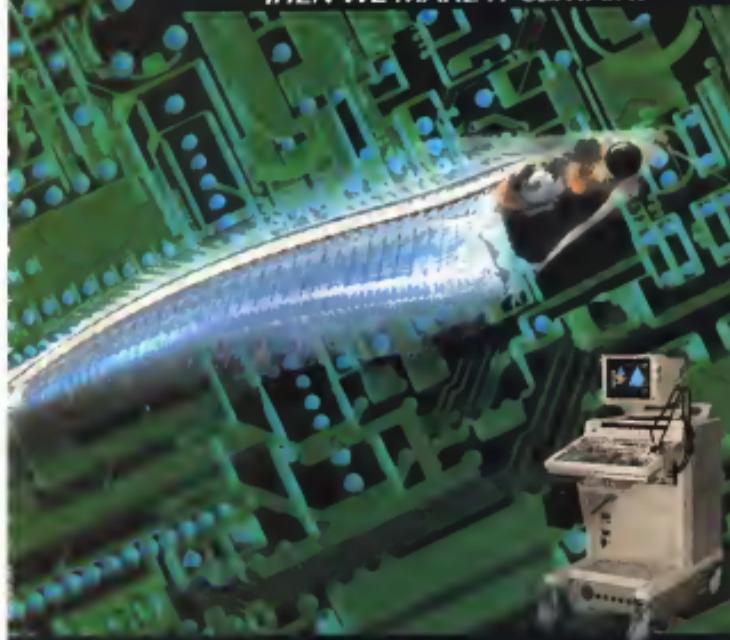
During that same brainstorming session, he addressed the frustration felt by people who see their paycheques eaten up by taxes. Said Finn: "People who are working hard and creating value for the economy deserve to be rewarded. And in Canada today, people who work hard are not being rewarded—they're being taxed. The frustration is, 'Well, why bother? If someone else can get by without working hard, I'm going to work just four days a week or take advantage of some sort of welfare program.'"

In part, Finn said that the weekend encounter taught him the importance of the process that the three regulators issuing the group call "principled negotiation." He added: "I don't think the object was to solve all the issues and write all the right words, but to prove the concept. I think what we accomplished is very difficult to appreciate without going through the exercise. It is not so much the content, but the fact that people can protect their interests and get what they want without compromising their position."



PHOTOGRAPH BY RONALD D. COOPER

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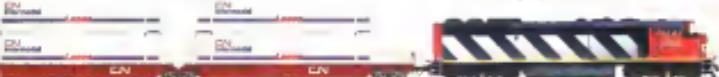
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THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT



CAROL GEDDES
Whitehorse, Yukon

Like several of the participants in the Atleo's forum on the future of Canada, 45-year-old film maker and writer Carol Geddes arrived with a relatively limited agenda. She grew up in a Thugs Indian family of nine children in the Yukon, where she witnessed discrimination first hand, and her priority was advancing the rights of aboriginal people within the Canadian federation. But she said that during the three-day conference, her perspective widened. "I quickly opened up to other issues," she said, "especially an increased awareness and more feeling about Canada as a whole. The experience strengthened my First Nations views and enlarged my field in Canada." Geddes also said that another important aspect of the forum was its inclusion of small-group workshops. Said Geddes, "There's things which really happened for me. The first night, it seemed very surreal. We were all very shy. But the small groups really brought it out." As well, Geddes said that she renewed her sympathies for Quebec sovereignty. "I had separate friends when I lived in Montreal in the early 1980s," she said. "I understood them then, but I had forgotten the issues until this conference."

Born in a remote native community near southern Yukon village of Tashme (population 300), Geddes is a member of the Thugs nation's Wolf clan. She says that her race at the northern bush allowed her "to appreciate the richness of the heritage and tradition of a culture most North Americans have never been lucky enough to share." When Geddes was 13, however, her family moved to Whitehorse, where she finished elementary school but dropped out of high school without completing Grade 12. Through the 1960s, Geddes recalls, she "hopped around at odd jobs" in the Yukon and northern Alberta, first working mostly as a waitress and later as a nurse's aide. In 1970, after moving with her boyfriend of the time to Ottawa, Geddes took three months away from work to travel through Europe.

Then, in 1971, when she was 25 and working as a waitress in Ottawa, friends encouraged her to enter Carleton University as a mature student. Five years later, she graduated with distinction in English and philosophy and later went on to earn a postgraduate diploma in communications from Montreal's Concordia University. Now based in Whitehorse, Geddes is a freelance film-maker and writer. She also

served on the Canada Council's jury for general arts grants for two years and is a member of the Yukon Arts Centre Board and the territory's Development Corporation Board.

Geddes was the only participant on clause for the Marlene's forum by random polling conducted by Beacon Research. Geddes and Marlene's determined early on the process that because traditional telephone polling methods do not produce a representative sampling of Canada's widely dispersed native population, Marlene's would select a participant to bring a native perspective to the discussion. Geddes was chosen for her ability to articulate native concerns while not being affiliated with any specific First Nations lobby group. Her subsequent answers to the same detailed questionnaire that the other 11 participants completed, however, showed that she shared many of the views of the Fed-up Federalist cluster of thinking—looking for significant changes within the existing system.

Still close to her roots, Geddes often goes with her relatives to ancestral lands, looking whistlers, salmon and lake trout. She also likes to swim and hike. Much of Geddes's writing and film-making concerns her cultural links to the North and its native people. "I am totally against the soft-govt idea," she said, "where we should evolve some new image of a general multicultural person." Her first major film, *Devier, Lawyer, Indian Chief*, chronicled the lives of native women who won careers over great odds. Geddes lives with general practitioner Dr. David Skinner, whom she describes simply as her "partner." Although she has supported the New Democratic Party in the past—helping to manage Yvon le Poer and George Lebel's 1987 federal campaign at 1987—the job is to make sure her current primary, *Parliament*, are declared, "the First Nations are free."



ROBERT LALANDE
Gatineau, Que.

Forty-nine-year-old Robert Lalande says that when he arrived at Lake Superior from Gatineau, Quebec, to join other 12 members of the Marlene's forum on Canada's future, he felt "a little bit lost. I didn't know what I was getting into." But he added, "I didn't feel threatened." With his easygoing style and quiet, cooperative manner, Lalande fit easily into the group's discussions about emotions and relationships. A committed Quebec Federalist as Devine's analysis, he said that he was

sawed at how sadder all the participants sounded after they had stripped away their political veneer and started talking about real human concerns. Said Lalonde: "Once you remove barriers, borders and beliefs and you get down to the basic human core, you find out we're all the same." And at the end of the working weekend, Lalonde declared: "I have come forth that I ever did believe in Canada."

Lalonde describes his family's heritage as: "Born '57" because of the mix of French and Irish culture and blood. He adds, "My son, now 26, was raised in an English-speaking family and married a francophone, 26 years ago. They have four children, including 'Bob,' to French schools. Lalonde met his ex-wife, Line, in 1976, while both were singing near Royen-Nordens, Que. The couple and their two children, Marlene, 15, and Martin, 13, speak French at home. But Lalonde insists that it is in Quebec's interest to remain an integral part of Canada. "I think we need a strong central government," he said, "and that the provinces' attempts to acquire more power could be detrimental to the country as a whole."

A technical-support specialist for Xerox of Canada Ltd., where he has worked for 26 years, Lalonde plays piano, also cross-country, cycles and enjoys the family's swimming pool in his spare time. Lalonde, who clearly treasures his family life, says that Canada faces the same challenges any household does. "There is the same sort of relationship between the parts of a family and the parts of Canada."

Indeed, during many of the group discussions, Lalonde stressed the importance of strengthening emotional relationships and played down political arguments. One of the most revealing elements of the weekend, however, was the language of "separatism." Lalonde said during a Saturday morning workshop: "If you could transport everybody's heart," he said, "if you accept the other person, you would solve a lot of these problems automatically." He also cited media coverage of the constitutional crisis, saying that television, newspapers and magazines tend to emphasize conflict at the expense of good news. Lalonde said that might make Canadians nervous about their future, while divisive issues are often front-page news. And Lalonde, who also worked for two years in Saint John, N.B., in the 1980s, was also a strong proponent of the idea of Canadians travelling more to learn about one another's cultures and regions. In addition, although Lalonde said that the Marlene's forum had done little to change his views, he acknowledged that the time spent with other Canadians had expressed him. Said Lalonde: "I am pleased that we were able to agree on a document."

MARIE LeBEAU Hull, Que.

Marie LeBeau liked her suitcase wearily and moved toward the airline ticket counter. After a long weekend discussing the issues of Canadians across the 47-year-old federal civil service, looked exhausted. Declared LeBeau: "I have only been this tired once before in my life, when I gave birth to my daughter, Anne, 20 years ago. Then, like now, I was tortured to sleep afterwards." But LeBeau, who as the weekend began was described by both Deacon and herself as a Hard Separatist, the discussion among 12 Canadians left her drained and, to her surprise,

uncertain whether there many possibilities for Quebec's independence. At the outset, LeBeau had compared Canada to an unhappy marriage that would be better ended in a civil fashion. "But I also worry that that will be easier and that we will have to talk to each other to work out some solution," she added. As the Nuclear summit came to a close, she seemed less certain of what she wanted for Quebec, and said: "I was decided before I came out here. I think I lack 99 per cent of the information I need to make up my mind."

LeBeau, who is divorced and lives in Hull, on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River, decided 10 years ago to end her career as a teacher of French as a second language and to train instead to be a computer programmer. She now works for the department of supply and services, programming the massive payroll for which Ottawa is responsible. In her spare time, LeBeau is a voracious reader of newspapers and carefully compares coverage of events by Quebec-based media and their Ontario counterparts. She enjoys movies and television—in particular the series *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, which she watches in English. Another

"passion" of hers is the painstaking reproduction of historical clothing in miniature, which she sews by hand for 18-inch dolls that often require up to 300 hours of labor.

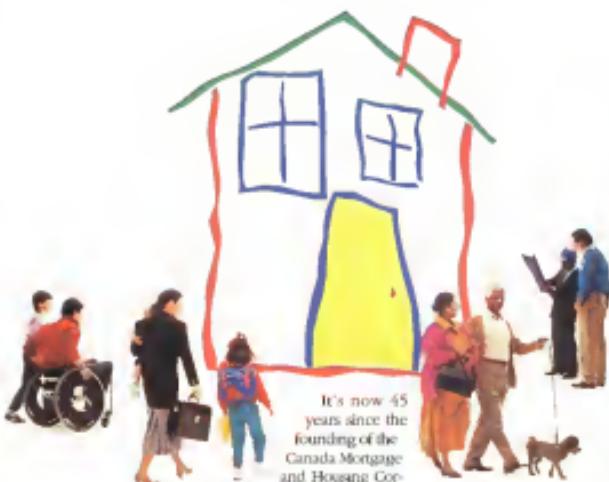
Spoken and articulate in both English and French, LeBeau spent much of the weekend discussing her intense personal feelings with participants from other parts of the country and with fellow speakers. Indeed, for LeBeau, language is an enormous area of personal identity—any sense of specific culture lies in the English and French LeBeau, who said that her family has lived in Quebec for generations. She spoke several times during the weekend of the pain of realizing that she feels as part of Canadian francophone minority. And she said afterwards that telling about that pain was liberating, and that she was surprised at how sympathetic other Canadians were to her feelings. She added: "It hasn't gone away at all the way I expected. I thought we were going to be 12 angry people."

At a particularly emotional moment, during dinner on the Saturday night, the slim, quiet LeBeau told her companion that Canadians are like "children crying out for love," adding that "this country needs honesty." And she continued: "We are not talking separate, we are talking putting together. This is Canada, according to me. I think that this is what Canada is all about, and we have lost sight of that." Shortly after arriving at the Bisons resort for the weekend, LeBeau had declared: "I left Canada a long time ago." But on Saturday night when fellow participant Karen Collings commented that both English- and French-Canadians needed to talk to each other, despite any risks they might perceive in doing that, LeBeau replied: "It is a question of survival."

Still, even LeBeau acknowledged that her readiness to consider a federal solution may be short-lived. As the plane carrying her back home from Toronto began its descent into Ottawa on Monday evening, LeBeau sighed and shook her head. "Let me see how I feel in one month," she said. "Perhaps, with some distance, I will feel once again that there is no other solution for Quebec but some sort of independence." But at least for almost as many hours as it takes her to create a miniature of the past in a doll's costume, Marie LeBeau held the belief that Quebec and the rest of Canada should share the future together.



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later continued his own studies, graduating in physical education from the University of New Brunswick in 1981. His sole still teaches mathematics part time at Berwick Junior High School. They have five children: Greg, 29, a chartered accountant in Bermuda; Jim, 27, a computer specialist with a trading firm; Roger, 24, has a degree in physical education, twin sons Ben and Paul, 21, are, respectively, students in physical education at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S., and of business at the University College of Cape Breton in Sydney, N.S. A former competitive local intermediate hockey player, Paul is a Conservative and community activist, now serving the final year of a three-year term as Berwick town councillor. He said that he plans to seek re-election in October. He is also chairman of the local hockey club, coaches a minor-league hockey team, and operates a swimming-pool installation business during the summer school holidays. In his remaining few hours of free time, he does woodworking and reads historical novels.

After hearing participants criticize the lack of infrastructural Canadian history texts, Farnsworth called on one man about the past history in freight in Canada. "I can't find any history of the mountains, within our education system, the different histories taught in Quebec and across the country," he said. "We're just not part of the consciousness that exists now between Canadians. Part of that is due to what we teach—or do not teach—another about Canada."

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During the initial discussion on the state of the nation, Simpson declared: "There is less tolerance and more discrimination as the economy worsens—increasing discrimination based on race or religion, or whatever the difference might be." She added that "people feel threatened individually, their survival is at stake. They look out at each other—or the guy down there."

Those concerns reflected Simpson's emphasis on the importance of



the human element in Canada's efforts to surmount its political and economic problems. Indeed, although she graduated from Toronto's York University with a bachelor's degree majoring in economics, she turned to other interests because, she says, "we're always building models and not factoring in the human beings." Instead, the compact five-foot, 116-lb graduate taught physical education for 11 years in Ontario, and "loved it." Now, in addition to running her main-street shop, Bouquet La Balise, which stocks "a little of everything" from clothing and toys to antiques, she teaches a St. Andrews community college class in entrepreneurship, serves on the local planning advisory committee, and is also a tireless promoter of her community's attractions. During one break in discussions about the country's future, she dug into her handbag and pulled out a folder of St. Andrews local pins and tourist brochures, which she handed out to the other participants.

Simpson, listing her good-buddies group, said that she joined up in St. Andrews "by mistake." She said that she and her husband moved there in 1977 from Kamloops, Ont., in what proved to be a vain attempt to save their flagging marriage. Since the divorce, she has raised their children, Pauline, now 27, and Noelle, 25. But Simpson is a "passionate advocate of raising of the idea that has taken root in her adopted province and in the Maritimes." She extolled New Brunswick's official bilingualism as the current strength of the Maritime provinces to forge a closer economic union. But she also expressed concern about what she termed "the abuse of the unemployment insurance system"—especially in regions where reliance on unemployment benefits has become entrenched—and the drag of Canada taxes on economic performance. Declared Simpson: "The tax structure is obviously one of the factors behind cross-border shopping. We've got to become more efficient."

As the forum discussions progressed, the apprehension that Simpson experienced beforehand dissipated quickly. "It felt immediately positive about the literate team we were going to work with, their abilities and capacity," she said. Indeed, she added that she plans to use some of the negotiating techniques that she learned during the weekend in her community-college course and on the St. Andrews planning committee, which often has fierce debates about zoning questions. And overall, the forum "definitely renewed my optimism about the country," she said afterwards.

Simpson, a Piping Federation according to Decarie's pre-formatted analysis, said before the discussions that she felt that all regions of the country should have equal power. Afterwards, however, she said that she was pleased with the agreement that she and her fellow participants reached on a more generous and understanding approach to the country's problems. "I think my friends and family will be pleased at what we accomplished," she said. "I think one of the most important things that weekend brought home to me is that the more responsibility you give people the better they perform." And for Sheila Simpson, that belief clearly means that Canadians, faced with the responsibility of dealing with challenges to their country's very survival, may in the end perform better than easy people expect.

JOHN HOWIE and NANCY WOOD



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Negotiator Robert Reichlano (second from left) discusses details with Dugali (left), Leibman and Miller, a bipartisan delegation.

A Canadian Renewal

Representative citizens find new ways to reinvent the country



They were Canadians. And as Canadians their conclusions were characteristically modest: no ringing declaration of rights or statement of demands, but "just suggestions" for their fellow citizens to consider. Each of the 12 participants in the Morley's weekend forum on Canada's future was articulate and concerned for the country, but, as one was in respect to the framing of constitutions or the procedural details of politics. And they were working under a severe time constraint. Three days in which to determine whether they could develop a vision for a united Canada. As a result their proposals were necessarily incomplete. Not all were original. Many of them were parallel to initiatives that are already under way. And all are open to criticism of one sort or another. But taken together, the suggestions that bear the signature of all 12 participants are as inspiring as prediction. And in the authors' judgment, they amount to something more.

towards a country "in which all Canadians would feel fully accepted, at home, fairly treated and with an appropriate balance between national concerns and local autonomy" (ibid. page 52).

The participants concluded that change must extend far beyond the daily working of the Constitution. They posited three crucial areas that require attention. Under the subheading "Mutual Understanding," the participants call for a concerted effort on the part of Canadians to spend their time and energy and to endow to the differences among the regions, cultures and communities that make up the nation. On economic matters, they urge Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to restore direction in the economy by bringing leading administrators, researchers and economists to draw up "national plans" that would see the country's resources used to the greatest national advantage. And they suggest sweeping change at the federal heart of the political engine Ottawa. Their recommendations, if implemented, would dramatically weaken the power of all political parties, forcing elected representatives to become far more responsive to the needs of their constituents.

to their roots. "That would create a Canada you could believe in," commented Merv LeBlanc, a computer programmer from Hull, Que., who chose to be the first a committed separatist, as the proposal took shape. As his enthusiasm mounted, he added: "Don't you like it? Wouldn't it be fun?"

That new Canada would certainly respond to concerns that have been raised with growing urgency well beyond the pastoral tranquillity of the Brian resort in central Ontario, where the lawn gathered. A flurry of recent opinion polls—including the seventh annual *Maclean's*/Decima year-end poll, published in January—have underscored the gravity that Canadians place on restoring confidence in the economy, as well as their continued disillusionment with the institutions of Parliament.

Many of the experts consulted by Marrian's about the forum's proposals also strongly endorsed the convention that no constitutional engineering can succeed if Canadians fail to overcome their entrenched regional and constitutional policies. "The problems we have," said Thomas D'Arcy, president of the nonpartisan Business Council on National Issues, "is that people are so suspicious of everyone else's agenda. That is really the big challenge."

At the same time, the 12 Canadians devoted comparatively little attention to some of the most debated issues that dominate the debate among constitutional experts. The question of language was raised and briefly discussed—but proved not to be highly contentious. Neither multiculturalism nor Quebec's demand for explicit recognition in the Constitution as a "so-called society" occupied as pivotal points. As for the thorny problem of what formula should replace the current unyielding method of amending the Constitution, the participants acknowledged that they were not equipped to offer specific new suggestions.

Still, the human participants reached agreement on creative resolutions to critical challenges that confront the country in three key areas. Indeed, polls and other soundings of public opinion offer strong support for the priorities set out by the Macleans' forum in its stated intent to define a new Canada. In Macleans' post-end poll, Canadians surveyed said that economic concerns—a unemployment—overruled nationally as the main issue facing the country. A poll by Gallup-Canada last month reached a similar conclusion.

There is a comparable national consensus that there must be responsiveness to those who live there. Canadians quarrelled on the MacBride's proposal and that the central role in the decisions of government, 77 per cent of governments should be required to consult the public on major decisions. Later reports by other pollsters findings as well. Gallup, for one, reported that almost two-thirds of a May 14 poll said that Canada would be better off if the views of the people were more closely consulted in the decision-making process. The consensus reached on the MacBride's proposal suggests that in future a government closer to the American style of government will be more acceptable.

On two other important issues, the 12 Canadians who participated in the Marian's forum appear to reflect accurately the views of their fellow citizens. In conclusion due to be released this week, the federal Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, chaired by Keith Spicer, will report its finding that "the majority of Canadians" now demand that the entrenched class of native people should be addressed. The same theme ran throughout the conclusion of the Marian's forum. The forum's commissioners' report will also recommend a review of official

nguishes, and note that "the policy is a major irritant outside Quebec, not much appreciated inside Quebec." When the MacIain's former deputies—in men and six women, including four Quebecers—addressed the language issue, there was surprisingly little disagreement. At one stage, Nova Scotia biology teacher John Prati asserted that

legislation, legalized right across Canada, was a "massacre"—a vote of 63 per cent of all Canadians and 65 per cent of Quebecers according to Gallup. In response, the committed federalist among them, Robert Lalonde, a technical economist from Gatineau, accurately observed that "when you push people against a corner, they tend to a tendency to want to push back." He added "It is better to do it voluntarily." Lalonde told Prud'homme with or without the proviso that of official bilingualism, "I am not afraid of losing it."

my language. I haven't seen it in 20 years."

But the *Makarū* participants were more concerned with proposals that sought to shorten over its vast distances and divergent communities than with the divisive threat of bilingualism. Indeed, their first recommendation had no direct bearing on either the machinery of politics or the pursuit of prosperity. "We suggest," the forum participants wrote, "that Canadians devote substantial effort to the broadest dimensions—to understanding one another, to coming together, sharing their concerns and ideas." And strikingly, they expressed a sentiment that may be far more widely held than many political leaders acknowledge. Two recent findings in Galtap, at least, point toward the same conclusion.

In one, 79 per cent of all Canadians polled—59 per cent of Quebecers—favoured the staging of *O Canada* at sporting events. And in another, 77 per cent of people surveyed said that they considered the national CBC television network to be necessary to preserving the country. Declared participant Carol Geddes, a film-maker from Whitehorse, Yukon, expressing a shared perspective among forum members, "*O Canada* don't know one mother."

Still, after a weekend of deliberation, debate and frequently emotional encounters, the 12 Canadians who participated in the MacLean's forum reached agreement on a statement of general principles that is a four-paragraph preamble. The rest of the document that they drafted is a detailed array of specific recommendations, arranged in 10 sections on three critical areas.

Section 7 Terrified of governmental

an reached agreement on a statement of general principles that formed a four-paragraph preamble. The rest of the document, that they entitled "a detailed array of specific recommendations, arranged in four on three critical areas.

mutual understanding

In 1960, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King recognized that the constraints we now have match history, we have too much geography. This has led to fact that more events, driven by climate, topography, disease, and preoccupied with different economic imperatives, have been "Canadian." The Macleans' focus concluded, "have become increasingly concerned with their own continental interests and those of their neighbors, their multinational community and their presence—and are less likely to ignore the interests of minorities, of other groups and of provinces."

As the forum addressed its suggestions first to Canadian themselves, it quickly became apparent how little the 12 participants understood one another's experiences and viewpoints. Their day-long dialogue of mutual discovery, however, produced a reasonably agreeable set of suggestions for their fellow citizens. As their final report noted, "Constitutional questions have a better chance of being handled if Canadians work together with greater understanding, respect, tolerance, genuine concern and a willingness to share."¹¹ The forum addressed its suggestions first to Canadian themselves. In Lubbock, "We have politicians who represent us—we elected them

THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

If we want to change something in government, we had better change ourselves." But their proposals extended to specific groups, as well, to the teachers who shape the perceptions of young Canadians in service clubs such as the Knights and Rotarians whose cut work against provincial and linguistic boundaries, to the media, and to provincial and federal governments. To the latter, the forum directed an amendment that reflected the members' confidence in the ability of Canadians from all walks of life to solve many of the country's problems—if politicians gave them the opportunity. They urged Ottawa to appoint a commission whose objective would be "to find programs or projects in one province that are successful, and promote their replication in other areas."

Other proposals covered as wide a scope. Noting that "there are places in Canada as marvelous as those elsewhere," participants in the MacLean's forum urged their fellow citizens to travel more widely within the country, and, while traveling, to "establish personal contact with others through professional, business or other connections." Said participant Cyril Allevy, a Montreal van-and-warehouse company manager: "A lot of Quebecers do not visit the rest of Canada. They visit Europe, but the United States, then they do their own country."

To change that practice, the forum urged service clubs to sponsor package trips within Canada among their members. It also called on corporations to "consider business travel and meetings as opportunities to meet citizens in most other countries."

But many of the participants' most compelling proposals for reintroducing Canadians to themselves were directed at schools—and at provincial departments of education. Their reasoning was straightforward: Canada's young citizens "are our future," said Karen College, a nurse—and mother-of-a-teenager—who lives in rural southern Ontario. "They are the ones we should be trying to educate and help to become aware." To that end, the forum urged educators to "compare curricula with teachers from other schools in Canada for fairness," and to "invite guest speakers from different parts of Canada" into their schools.

Participants also recommended that departments of education "work with those in other provinces to curriculum changes to promote closer 'all-Canada' understanding [and] arrange, as a national project, for the writing of a good history of all Canadians for all Canadians." Declared Lebel: "The first subject in school would be Canada 191."

That clearly is not the case now. In fact, a survey published by the Council of Ministers of Education earlier this year revealed that most provincial and territorial senior high-school and secondary-school curricula contain fewer than half a dozen courses devoted to Canada's history, geography, arts or culture. The curricula in Alberta and Quebec offer only two such courses. In addition, notes Mark Holmes, a professor of education administration at Toronto's Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, the requirement for provincial certification inhibits the movement of teachers from one region to another. As a result, said Holmes, "Canadians, especially young Canadians, are very ignorant of other provinces."

Other experts note that even when curricula about Canada are offered they may contribute more to regional investment than to mutual understanding. "You can have Canadian studies that still promote the various ideological latitudes," remarked historian Desmond Morton, principal of the University of Toronto's Bata Library campus. Recalling his own Prairie school days, Morton noted: "I learned how the West was oppressed by civil engineers, because that was what was taught in Saskatchewan in 1947 and 1948." In New Brunswick, which leads all other provinces in offering its junior- and high-school students 11 Canadian studies courses—five of those compulsory—Premier Frank McKenna acknowledged: "Young people here know absolutely nothing



Studying the final draft: strong measures to make politicians more responsive to citizens



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The need for a skilled quarterback to bring some order to the national economic game.

At first glance, that interventionist prescription may sound to many of the conservative minds of the past decade. Commented John Bullock, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB). "The idea that you can direct economies from the centre is dead." At the same time, the participants backed away from another conservative economic tenet—the pursuit of balanced public budgets—saying governments instead should budget "responsibly."

In fact, the Bruce group avoided proposing that the federal government direct the nation's economy at all from Ottawa. But Kevin Aylmer, a self-employed business manager from Toronto, "I'm terrified of anything that government gets involved with." The forum's report, instead, would invoke the federal government's role to implement a plan devised largely by business to make the best use of natural resources in science, education, tax policy and finance.

Still, their vision is ambitious. In atmosphere was a conviction, conveyed by the office of the prime minister, that would bring together representatives from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and—despite Bullock's skepticism—the CFIB, as well as presidents of major Canadian companies, the head of the National Research Council Canada and an array of international consultants. The committee would be given six months within which "to identify Canadian competitive strengths and propose methods to take advantage of them." Acknowledging the source of much of its inspiration, the forum added: "The policy will be modified to some extent after the one in Japan, and may include a variety of international trade and industry policy"—the architect of that country's distinctive economic "mix" statistics.

Among the ideas that the Marlieson team proposed for consideration by the national committee are several familiar: see the reduction of interprovincial trade barriers; closer co-operation among business, universities and governments over strategic programs and financial incentives for research and development in "strategic" industries.

Others were new. Among them: mandating the National Research Council to co-ordinate research in publicly funded laboratories and relocating the federal fisheries and agriculture departments closer to the people whose regulated. Still other suggestions have proven successful in some parts of the country and appear to merit wider application. Prominent among these is a proposal—modelled on Quebec's highly successful Cense de l'emploi placement, which oversees \$30 billion in provincial pension and extended insurance funds—encourage other Canadian pension and insurance funds to invest in new businesses.

Some firms expressed doubt that an approach based on successful models in the comparatively homogeneous conglomates of English and French-speaking Quebec can easily be transplanted to the Canadian economy as a whole. Commented the crusty Bullock: "In Japan, the nuclear operators give you the same Moody's as the head of MIT. In English Canada, we are so individualistic, it wouldn't work."

Other experts firmly supported the forum's recommendations. Said Nancy Reiche, executive vice-president of the Canadian Labour Congress: "Since 1984, we've had a market economy based on a Conservative agenda. It hasn't worked." By contrast, Reiche opined that the document proposed by the Marlieson team has promise—so long as representatives



Aylmer (left), Pratt: agreement that Canadians do not know their own country

of organized labour join business leaders in drawing up the proposed national plan. "With the right players," she said, "we may be able to do something." Noting the forum's emphasis on competitiveness, the Business Council on National Issues' Aylmer also said that its conclusions offer an opportunity to rally the country around clear economic goals. "The ideas are there," he said. "What is missing is the consensus—and action." Added Aylmer: "Take off my hat to these guys. You get people together and you discover a tremendous amount of common sense."

In fact, some of the group's proposals are already in place. In January, the federal government announced the creation of a Labor Force Development Board, with 22 members—16 of them representing business and labor. It begins work in May to improve national training programs. Ottawa has also announced its intent to eliminate provincial matching grants for research and development in "strategic" industries.

Despite these beginnings, however, the 12 Canadians who agreed the Bruce document "are clearly not alone in their conviction that the economy is not at control. Ted Thomas Reimer, president of Toronto's C. D. Howe Institute, a corporate policy research foundation funded largely by business. "People believe the Mulroney government has given up on creating market forces, and they are being cast to the wolves." That concern was clearly reflected in the Bruce proposals.

THE CONSTITUTION

Just before 3 p.m. on the first night of the weekend, Ontario's Colling faced the raw heart of the issue for many Canadians: "No one is listening to us," she said. "Decisions are made before we are aware of the problems. What leadership there is, I just feel that they are lagging at it." The leadership of Canadian business was acknowledging that it might easily have been discounted as irrelevant if it were not evident that most other Canadians share Colling's view.

The language was less charged 43 hours later, when, late on Sunday afternoon, the 22 participants in the Marlieson forum signed the final document outlining their recommendations for a new national plan. But the strong loss of faith in the present government's willingness or

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ability to represent the people was the same. "The current system," that document states, "does not afford some peoples, regions, provinces and communities within Canada the tools needed to adequately promote their interests. . . . The government, as currently structured, is not sufficiently representative."

The forum's sharply focused proposals for reform would naturally alter that structure. The power of political parties would diminish dramatically, with a corresponding expansion of the role of royal commissions in policy-making. Native Canadians would be assured of representation in the Commons—and in my other forum whose matters that concerned these were discussed. And governments would be obliged to pay less attention to changes in public opinion.

At the same time, most of these reforms could be accomplished without the need to amend the Constitution. Indeed, the most critical proposals require little more than amendments to the Canada Elections Act.

Act—changes that Parliament can effect since Sops, in fact, require no change in legislation at all—only a departure from the traditions of parliamentary procedure.

Meantime, staggered elections, held as frequently as every two years for a portion of seats in the Commons, would "keep the party in power on their toes," argued Charles Dupuis, a St. Jean lawyer from Montreal. Declared Dupuis: "They would know in advance that the majority they have now could be wiped out in two years."

The goal of a more responsible government, in a form that bears strong echoes of the American system may have wide appeal for many Canadians. But one of Canada's leading constitutional experts, University of Toronto political scientist Richard Simon, noted that several of the proposed reforms require close scrutiny. Staggered elections, for one, would allow Canadians "to vote every two years," he acknowledged, "but they only vote for one-half of the House. You couldn't have the government out in the same way." And Simon questioned the merits of instant runoff, modelled on the United States. There, he said, "the cohesion of the party has practically disappeared." As a result, "Congress is exceptionally responsive but it can also be almost

Canadians will see two sets of electoral reform proposals emerge this fall, both aimed at restoring the public's shattered confidence in the political process but it is unlikely that either will reflect the direction proposed at the BCPAC. The federal Royal Commission on Electoral Reform will produce one set of new proposals. Its mandate is to find ways

that they will not be "a significant part of whatever thrust our report will take." Instead, he said, the commission will concentrate on proposals designed to make political parties more open to new ideas from the public.

Federal Conservative House Leader Horne Andre has also pledged to deliver recommendations this fall designed to restore voter credibility with voters. But, although free votes are among the proposals he is considering, Andre also made it clear during an interview with MacLean's that he favors strengthening the position of political parties rather than weakening them. Declared Andre: "Political parties are virtually the only institutions in the country that have an interest in trying to reach a consensus."

The Meristem forum would change that perception as well. In its originally proposed program, the forum would have given the venerable Canadian interpretation of the royal commission a greater importance as the pre-eminent mechanism for citizens to contribute to the creation of national policy. To that end, the participants at the forum recommended that "the commission [be] reformed so that the result of the commission's inquiry shall be turned into a draft legislation to be put before the legislative bodies for debate and vote." As Montreal's Dequin explained: "These royal commissions, they take a lot of money, then the report goes into a file. You should have a government to hold a vote on the report." He added: "You don't want to make it, at least the one who's going to decide in the end I vote for."

The participants were all aboriginal leaders who saw a greater role for the political process for native Canadians. They called for "genuine representation for the First Nations of Canada" which the Commons and the Senate could do, as well as "a federal forum for discussing issues or dealing with policy affecting the First Nations"—including any future negotiations between Ottawa and the provinces over constitutional reform. The forum members should be recommended giving the First Nations a voice alongside the provinces in negotiations with Ottawa over the future of national social programs. That development, said the Yukon's Gordie Geddes, might lead quickly to the disengagement of the federal department of Indian affairs. "We don't want anything everything to do with the young

imposed on us. We want the ability to determine what our social issues are and what the solutions are."

Geddes's words captured the spirit that, often elsewhere, permeated the dramatic outpourings at the Brier. It is a sense that may also underlie the surface anger of many Canadians who say that they have been sick out of the central institutions of their own country. Beneath the simmering frustration resides a more positive emotion: a deep desire to contribute to the regeneration of Canada as a single nation. The same hopeful emotion is manifest in the conclusions of the 12 national Capital Conferences across the Brier's coverage.

A portrait of a woman with dark hair, wearing a pink jacket, resting her chin on her hand. She is wearing a watch on her left wrist.

Confirms a focus on the reader

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A Weekend Of Candor

At first, the group had little in common



They were strangers to one another, a disparate group of 12 Canadians united mainly by their nervous uncertainty about the weekend ahead. Travelling by plane, bus and helicopter, they came on June 7 from distant corners of the country to the privacy of the Bear's resort on Ontario's Lake Simcoe to see if they could find a way out of Canada. "We need to understand each other and appreciate some of the issues," said Vicki Ceraske-Schreder, an Edmonton social worker, as the board of the bus that would take her and seven of the others from Toronto's Pearson International Airport to the resort. But to believe that such openness, and at least a shared approach to analyzing the country, she acknowledged, "may be not too idealistic."

Meanwhile, the team of Harvard University-affiliated negotiators was already at the Bear's, arranging the seating in the main conference room. To a rally nervous Roger Fisher, director of the Harvard Negotiation Project, his first attempt to grapple with the subtleties of Canada's regional discontent was like "taking a dive off the high board without knowing if there was water in the pool yet." A measure of that challenge would come early the first night, when Fisher, referring to Canada's French-English tensions, blamed the country's problems to a "marriage in trouble." Coral Gorder, a Métis native from the Yukon, remained Fisher that Canada's First Nations also demanded to be part of any new compact. Said a suddenly assertive Gorder: "I reject the metaphor of marriage, unless you are talking about polygamy."

Fisher and his two associates from his conflict resolution service, Conflict Management Group (CMG), would devote the Friday night session to exploring the questions and causes of Canada's crisis. His aim was to get the participants to start by laying their country's problems. The difficult task of getting them to explore new options for the future would wait for later in the weekend.

None of that was known to the participants themselves as they trudged to the Bear's. Charles Dugas, a Montreal lawyer and a committed Quebec secessionist, later recalled that he felt like a Chevalier on the way to his own village. And the bus rattled through the country-side north of

Toronto, Montreal business manager Cyril Alliyez laughingly told Dugas: "In two or three hours, we'll be at the same opera, and then we will go play golf."

Consensus finally did come, although it took far longer than Alliyez predicted. What follows is the story of that journey, a remarkable, and often emotional, encounter among 12 Canadians.

OPENING SESSION, FRIDAY, 8:40 P.M.

With the newly arrived, travel-weary participants still slightly bewildered about what was expected of them, members of the negotiating team began the session by explaining their techniques of resolving conflict.

ROBERT RIGGILANDO (moder) This reminds me of one of those old cliché horror movies that you see on Saturday afternoons where there is a castle that has a perennial thunderstorm and there are 12 people mysteriously invited to some event and they spend two hours figuring out why they were invited.

Well, why are we invited to work together, regardless of what we come in with. We've got a common problem. **STUART DIAMOND** (moder) This weekend, we hope to have a discussion about cultural concerns and interests about the future of Canada. We are experts on process, how people talk to one another, which we have found to be at least as important as what they talk about. By analogy, many people we have said, "I like to get there, I don't care what road I take." We've heard that road you take often depends on whether or not you get there.

We are not experts on Canada. We are experts on process—the process of dealing with differences. None of us should feel pressure, because we don't have any authority to decide anything and no one is obliged to follow my or our advice.

FISHER There is no magic in this, and the biggest mistake people make in negotiating is to decide first, and then talk and hash later. It is important to examine our own bias. We all look at the world from the bell tower of our own village. And we need to recognize that we are biased. We



The opening session on Friday night (top); the Bear's, where the forum took place (bottom left); Lesslie, LaMaze, Alliyez and Ceraske-Schreder meet on the bus ride from Toronto (bottom right); creating a new—and realistic—option for Canada



want to understand how others see it, by inquiring how they see it. Active listening.

SHAWDING: The trick, the challenge, is to step outside that individual bell tower and go over and take a look.

● Fisher has everyone devote 40 minutes to interviewing and then introducing each other to the group. On the surface, the participants appear from that exercise to have little in common, other than a shared fondness for cooking held by Dupuis and Karron Callings, a Port Credit, Ont., native. Then, warning that there are "no shortcuts to specific action," Fisher encourages members of the group to express their own analysis of what is wrong in Canada. As he puts it: "OK, Doctor, tell us some symptoms, things that are going wrong. What do you think the cause of Canada's difficulties?" What begins as a stiff, formal exercise soon becomes as the participants all realize that they do share a common perception: a dissatisfaction with the current state of the nation.

FISHER: What are some of the grievances that things aren't right now? What are some of the things that people think are wrong?

GEDDES: Lack of recognition of the people of the First Nations.

FISHER: A lack of status? I am trying to compare it with the Palestinians, with the Kurds.

GEDDES: The inability of the people of the First Nations to make decisions about their lives due to lack of recognition in the Canadian Constitution.

● As the participants give voice to their concerns, Rengsano records their responses on one of several paper flip

charts that are mounted on easels at the front of the main meeting room, a technique used throughout the weekend.

RICKSLIARD: Inability to decide about their own lives. They feel demobilized. Lack of self-reliance, self-government.

COLIN FINN: Feeling regional inequalities, people being treated differently in different parts of the country.

RICHARD MILLER: I don't know if this is the same way of saying what Colle just said, but I believe one of the problems is that the state, in the uniform approach to social problems in the country

JOHN PRALL: We have to get more money out of Ottawa, to get medicines up and other programs going in poorer provinces. They are no longer uniform. Social programs are becoming less uniform.

SHEILA SIMPSON: People feel threatened individually, their own survival is at stake. They look out at each other, at the pay lower down.

PRALL: (nodding vigorously) Equality becomes less important than making sure that I feed the kids.

● Dupuis introduces the subject of Quebec's growing isolation from the rest of Canada, and of what he believes is a fundamental difference in values between Quebecers and other Canadians.

DUPUIS: The problem is the perception of how to protect the rights of everybody. There is a problem of seeing us collectively or individually. One of the main issues we have to deal with is that we have a new charter of rights in Canada's Constitution. Every man has his rights. And it is, I believe, based on a typical Anglo-Saxon way of thinking, quite contrary to a francophone's way of seeing

Simpson (left) listening to Dupuis taking a *sovereignist* stand on Friday night: "One of the main issues we have in this country is that we have a new charter of rights in Canada's Constitution. And it is, I believe, based on a typical Anglo-Saxon way of thinking, quite contrary to a francophone's way of seeing things as a collective means of trying to solve a problem or to protect a right."

things as a collective means of trying to solve a problem or to protect a right."

● Then, Geddes remarks on a theme that is to be revisited repeatedly over the weekend: that there is little tangible sense of what it means to be a Canadian because Canadians know very little about one another. Miller argues that by setting loyalty to their regions ahead of the country as a whole, Canadians will pay an economic price.

GEDDES: I say, there is no Canada. Canadians don't know one another, don't travel across the country. We are all from a province or a linguistic group or we have money or we don't. Canadian? I think there is no Canada. That is the problem. Every province against the other one.

MARIE LEBEAU: It is bad, as a taxpayer, something really sorted to say about Washington state, every American is going to go up on me. But if I say something about Ontario, I am going to have allies.

KAREN ADAMS: Travelling inside Canada, I would probably say I am from Ontario, or Toronto. And I will agree that if you are out West, people will say: "Oh, you're from the East. You get everything."

MILLER: Western Canada is doing well and Eastern Europe is not doing so well. The tide in Western Europe is towards Tim's Europe, and the tide in Eastern Europe is towards Tim's Poland, Czech, or whatever. And we seem to be picking the negative example.

● But Dupuis returns the conversation to what he sees as the source of the Canadian conflict—French-English relations—and receives an immediate response from Geddes.

GEDDES: The main cause is two main cultures that are so divided, having two principal cultures—the Anglo-Saxon and the French-speaking.

DUPUIS: The majority have a fear of being eaten, and they want to protect the few that have. There is always that danger of losing what you have.

FISHER: A fear of losing the culture destroyed, taken away, dismantled. Any vision of Canada is going to have to do that with concern.

DUPUIS: The majority unfortunately close more doors than they open. This is a historical reality, and history is a mirror of the future. For a minority, there are two situations: either I control my own goals and ways of doing things, or the second choice is to stay in the option and try to create opportunities within. But it is a gamble, and unfortunately history isn't helping the minorities in this country to take that gamble.



GEDDES: I might as well make this point right now. There are more than two main cultures in Canada. The First Nations are a main culture.

DUPUIS: I'm sorry. I forgot about you. We are insiders.

ALICE FISHER: And LeBeau at Friday dinner (she looks a bit tired) a common theme throughout the weekend is that there is little tangible sense of what it means to be a Canadian because Canadians know very little about one another.

● Still, he presses ahead with his point that the plight of minorities is at the source of Canada's troubles.

DUPUIS: Minorities have a fear of being eaten, and they want to protect the few that have. There is always that danger of losing what you have.

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FRIDAY DINNER, 7:50 P.M.

● Retiring to dinner in an alcove of the Bistro during room, the weary participants slip easily into less formal conversations. But even as casual friendships are formed, the table talk reveals just how wide a net of opinion that will have to be broad. As the main course is being served, Dupuis and Miller, after Dupuis's remarks, have helped steady what Fisher really means. Rehearses Miller: "Not to my satisfaction, I don't understand the problem. I don't understand the things that Quebecers do. Quebecers perceive, or at least I don't understand how they see perception as being some solution to that problem."

Miller also blames official bilingualism for causing some of the country's linguistic tensions. The Richmond, B.C., lawyer says that he "had no particular problem with Quebec being bilingual," and notes that official bilingualism may "have hurt more than it has helped."

At the next table, Prall, LeBeau, Simpson and fellow participant Robert Lalonde sit with Fisher discussing the

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politics of language. It is the only time during the weekend that the contentious issue is raised at length. LeBeau complains to her diverse compatriots that she feels assaulted—and insulted—by her French grammar, which is tainted by the infiltration of English expressions. That concern was soothed by Quebec's provincial sign law, she argues, which prohibits the use of languages other than French on commercial signs. Although she later says that the law was "not accurate" and that the Quebec government "could get rid of the law tomorrow," LeBeau notes that Quebecers "were just trying to make a point."

FISHER: On the language thing, which is obviously a terribly important issue . . .

LAUREAU: It is of extreme importance.

PRALL: Indermark, where Pierre Elliott Trudeau came in and legislated that thing right across Canada, I think was a mistake.

LAUREAU: You push people against a corner and they have a tendency to want to push back. It is better to do it voluntarily rather than legislate it.

SIMPSON: Look what's happening in New Brunswick. We're getting the CCR [Confederation of Regional party], who are sort of right-wing because they hot themselves economically and so forth because of bilingualism.

LAUREAU: So it always comes back to that it's French Quebec and English in the rest of the country. If I have to go to Vancouver, I would never expect my daughter to find a school where she could study in French. It's normal. I can understand all the fuss in Winnipeg when there are 52 lots and they want a French school. Come on. Get real!

● The conversation soon moves on to the issue of Quebec's sign law.

PRALL: For your tourists coming in, or if I drive through there, I wouldn't know where I am.

LAUREAU: Do you expect bilingual signs in France?

PRALL: In France? I'm talking about Quebec.

LAUREAU: To me, that's impossible to understand. If I go to Wiesbaden, I'll see signs in English and I won't break out. And if my life depends on it, when I go to the States I'll read them in Spanish if I have to.

● Over coffee, Dugay and LaLonde recollect to the American Ruehola how the media, by emphasizing conflict, helped fester the climate of protest in Canada. To illustrate their point, the two Quebecers recount "the Brinville incident," when protesters wiped their feet on a Quebec flag-draped flag in that Ontario city. Television coverage of the protest was shown repeatedly on Quebec newscasts.

DUGAY: They had a Quebec flag on the ground and, one after the other, they stepped on the flag and spit on it. TV was there and the cameras showed it over and over and over.

LAULONDE: This was the news media from the Quebec side. You see the perception that was left from there?

RUEHOLA: You can see how they make a small problem look like it's a huge problem.

DUGAY: The Canadian media, I think, don't help Canadians out.

RUEHOLA: The press loves to see hostile conflict. People getting along and making nice just doesn't seem to be newsworthy. There could be 90-per-cent agreement—the media wants to cover the 10-per-cent disagreement.

Auditor seems like there is no agreement at all. Ethics is a lot of that has happened here.

FRIDAY EVENING SESSION, 9:40 P.M.

● After dinner, the participants return to the main conference room for a short session to recap the day. Fisher, wary of allowing the language debate to develop into a wider argument, emphasizes the significance of language diversity. Later in the weekend, he will tell the group that language only defines the sides of the debate. Linguistic security would be attained, he will suggest, when both sides believe that they are on a solid economic footing, and when there is a respect and voluntary acceptance of the other language group that tonite, Fisher says only, "has surprised how emotional and sensitive the language question is, with so few clear identifications of what is wrong and what would be right."

As the time slips past 10 p.m., Fisher continues his plan to the group members for the Saturday sessions. He will demonstrate, he tells them, why none of the existing names of Canada will ever work. But any new name, he says, will have to come from the participants. "We have analytical tools, we have on answers," Fisher says, standing at the head of the room. "You give us the answers. We give you the tools." They end the session at 10:15 p.m.

Later, Fisher and his colleagues say that they are heartened by the first day Canada's problems have been expressed, the surfacing of gravestones—perhaps—over Nov. 1, they have to convince the group members to look to other points of view, and explore new solutions.

They would have been even more encouraged had they heard Collins speak to LaLonde at the break of dawn. Discussing Digital Democracy, the determined defense of Quebec's provincial charter, Fisher says: "What is this



● **Carrie-Schulz notes an idea while**
Fish, Collings and Simpson watch (above)
Miller notes his head as LeBeau, Piss and
Adams listen: "We need radical surgery"



saying about being afraid of being treated like a minority was all new to me. I was more aware of the native problem [than Quebec's grievances]. This is what I came to find out the other side. And I learned it tonight. It's opening my eyes."

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION, 8:30 A.M.

● Conversation is stoked to the bone again. "Maybe we should have gone for a swim in the lake first," Ruehola notes. "It's difficult to go from 'I just had to defend it' to 'Now I'm going to solve Canada's problems.'" But the participants soon become animated, especially when Miller turns of hearing the complaints about Canada and coming in an impassioned defense of the country. The outlines of the group's final document emerge as the participants list their major concerns.

Bringing what the group has already deduced, Fisher begins: "What we heard yesterday were some of the possible causes of some of the left symptoms: economic discrimination, minority treatment, lack of representation." Now, he wants them to suggest possible broad categories for action.

SIMPSON: Is this pressuring Quebec to stay within Confederation?

FISHER: We are not pressuring the moment. We are going to try Quebec is unframed, Canada is unframed. We are going to see if we can create a good solution for Canada to offer Quebec. If we were advancing Quebec, I would say, "Don't decide until you know what the deal is."

RUEHOLA: Contrary to the normal process of events where people would decide now whether there would be independence or not, we are going to allow that process down. Let's first understand what some of the issues and demands are. Then, let's develop a full range of options.

LAULONDE: I wonder if we could put it in one word: equality, for people around you. If you could accept the other person, you would solve a lot of these problems automatically.

LEBEAU: First subject in school would be Canada 101.

COLLINS: Let's understand each other's problems and let's stop fighting. Tell me what your problems are as a housemate and I will tell you what my problems are as an employee. And then together look at what are potential solutions.

● Later, Fisher will tell the group, "Buy a key. We come here in a Yankee coming out and we all share technical arguments about the Constitution. I come back with a bunch of banal things being worried about other human beings and how they understand each other. It's an emotional, non-legalistic approach to what's going on here."

All the participants agree on the need for Canadians to find ways to stop going at each other. But the conversation soon swings to the nuts and bolts of how to ease a better Canada. As Miller states, "It has to be decided if we should go to more provincial control."

DUPUIS: This Constitution has to be changed, and the way to change it has to be changed.

PRALL: I am hearing that we need a government to do all of these things for us, and I am of the opinion that less government involvement is needed. I think having people say, "Well, I am here to serve the government to come up with nice programs that are sensible." It's got to come back to individual responsibility. Canadians control their destiny.

LAULONDE: We got a problem—our representation, they are our image actually, as it is our problem.

COLLINS: Canadians tend to be too quiet. They may have a problem, but they sit and maybe grumble to themselves.

FISHER: You're sort of saying, "Stop aside. You haven't done very well. We'll take over and see what we can do."

● At that point, with a mood of rebellion against Canadian governments threatening to sweep the room, Miller dives a sharply worded warning to his colleagues—and provokes strong responses.

MILLER: I'm getting kind of anxious here because there seems to be this fundamental assumption that there is something fundamentally wrong with our country that needs changing. I think that geographically and historically, we are the luckiest people ever. We live in such a wonderful place at such a wonderful time, not because we are genetically better or inherently better than other people at other times—or because of some sort of miraculous gas coming out of the earth that is creating this state. We live in

THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

this wonderful time and wonderful place because of the systems that we've created some time ago that have worked well over the past hundred or so years.

And for them being too quiet and too apathetic, what's going on now and what's been going on in the past decade or so is that we've seen the getting noisy for the sake of getting noisy. It's quibbling, and our problems are really minor problems. And we seem to want to view them as major problems. The danger is that as that we will wreck everything. We will destroy the systems that have been given to us what we've put, just for the sake of change. And I see that as a really dangerous thing.

GEDDES: Do you think it's quibbling that Aboriginal people have the highest infant death rate and the shortest lifespan, the highest poverty rates of all Canadians? This hasn't come from somewhere.

MILLER: I'm not a Polygamist. I'm not suggesting we are a nation without problems.

DUPUIS: With all due respect to Rick's opinion, it's not because you were always healthy and now you know you have a sickness. Don't put shades on your eyes to say, "Well, I was always healthy and that sickness will disappear by itself." This would be self-blinding.

RECHOLAND: We don't want to hide the fact that we have a sick side, but we don't want to prosecute the patient treatment.

MILLER: I was just suggesting that we don't need to trash out our whole system of government just because we have a side aches. Maybe just a little Band-Aid will work. Rehabilitation does work sometimes.

CEREBIK & SCHODLER: We need radical surgery.

MILLER: You don't have a lung transplant if you have a chest cold.

COLLINGS: No. But if you let a chest cold go, you get worse.

● Fisher then divides the participants into three groups of four, according to their interest in discussing ways to improve three Canadian problems: the constitutional impasse, the threat of economic decline and the lack of understanding and empathy among Canadians for one another. As two of the groups head outside to work at tables on the Brant lawn, Fisher exhorts them to "face problems into answers." The aim is to write down as many options as possible for solving Canada's problems. No ideas are to be criticized, evaluated or rejected. Or, as Diamond puts it to the consensus group that he is leading, "If someone says 'Shoot the dog,' we put it up." on the flip charts.

The so-called mutual understanding, led by Fisher, looks for ways to foster a better appreciation of other Canadians. The problem is articulated well by Nova Scotia's Paul, who wistfully notes, "We're not quite to Quebec. I'm not going to Ontario to spend an amount of time. Yet." For a long time, he was about a cultural shock to us here and I attest to Carol Geddes because we had no idea what problems the bat." Their suggested solutions include writing a more well-rounded history of Canada and requiring governments to clearly explain where tax revenues are being spent.

The economy group expresses many of the frustrations commonly held by Canadians. Among them are fears that Canada's economic future is bleak, that Canada is over-governed and that taxes are too high. In the spirit of

examining all the options, the group suggests increasing immigration, questions the universality of social programs and considers western and Maritime union as a way to lower the cost of government.

Notably, the Constitution group suggests several changes to the current system of government. Although it is composed of two avowed sovereigntists (Dupuis and LeBlanc), a native (Geddes) and a converted Loyalist (Miller), the group reaches consensus on several proposed changes to the way Canadian governments operate. Most notably, the group agrees that the emphasis on party discipline for members of Parliament contravenes principles representing the wishes of their constituents.

But signs of the tension that will boil over in the Constitution group later that day begin to emerge in the morning session. For one thing, there is disagreement about how future constitutional negotiations should be



conducted. As Dupuis warns, "The easier players, the more difficult it is to reach a fair and quick deal. We are getting sick and tired of talking about the Constitution. For the past three decades, the processes have been one another every year, and nothing happened."

DUPUIS: Let's call a cat a cat. Quebec needs all the power to determine its own future.

GEDDES: Before we talk of distribution of powers, some people are not even let in the door of the forum. We don't want to be covered by the term minorities or autochthonous. Our identity is as a First Nation. We don't want to hear we are a minority.

MILLER: You can't reject the idea of being a minority in that country. We are talking about a number of groups of minorities. First Nations, Quebec. Every participant will be a minority in this discussion. All participants are minorities, whether they are British Columbians or Quebecers. There is no such thing as a majority.

GEDDES: I accept that definition of a minority, but the word is a red flag to me.

DUPUIS: The more players you have, the harder it will be to get a consensus. The main group concerned are Anglo Canadians and francophones, plus the natives. With two

■ **Constitution subgroup meeting, seated from left, Dupuis, Miller, LeBlanc and Geddes.** It is incredibly naive to think you can leave Canada and maintain some personal relationship. There would be such bad feelings.

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(nearly) going to the table, it is going to be a hell of a party. **MILLER:** But where do Chinese-Canadian get representation? Are they anglophones?

DUPUIS: When they came here, they identified either with the French or English. They made those choices. The same players should continue—not the provincial players, but the main cultural groups.

• **Rogers:** Intervenes, suggesting that the group consider a system of government that would preserve the elements of Canada that are working, and develop new ways of assuring the flags of natives and Quebecers, who feel underrepresented. To that, Miller says: "I included language and culture under provincial responsibility. That is a change." Setting upon that theme, the group then agrees that, in my country, all citizens should have equal access to basic needs, such as education, but the content of particular programs should be determined by more local needs. The three groups break for a 32:25 p.m. lunch.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION, 2 P.M.

• With the entire forum reassembling as one group in the main conference room, Fisher presents a more positive option for Canada's future: a strong federal system, a loose confederation, an independent Quebec and self-government for natives. By solving conflicts of all four scenarios from the participants themselves, the negotiating team swiftly demonstrates that none of the alternatives could easily be politically supported. The first presentation ignites at the door, the fire department ignites at the firehouse, calling it a "good, rocky session." Fisher is more than

"there was blood on the floor," he says afterward. "It was a disaster." The problem arises when Dupuis misses about four relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada.

DUPUIS: It is possible that it would be useful to keep some relations between two sovereign entities by the medium of a secede. But as two free parties, we should have equal membership. Well, three parties, with the natives. My objective is sovereignty. If they wish to have their federal government, keep it. We don't need it.

MILLER: It is incredibly naive to think you can have

something that political leaders can say "yes" to!

Some of the participants remain skeptical of the approach. Pedalling a stationary bicycle in an extreme room during a break later in the day, Geddes tries apologetically what she is being asked to do. Fisher says we shouldn't shoot and scream for our position," she says. "But Quebec had to do its best to be heard, and natives would not be listened to today if it weren't for Elijah Harper and Oka. I am worried that natives will demand to know why I did not defend their position more firmly."

But Geddes is not yet ready to take the challenge when, as the group reconvenes at 9:30 p.m., Fisher asks if anyone wants to "shoot down" the one of these four options. Among the others, she returns to another session in the innermost groups.

Neither the economy nor the constitutional understanding group has major problems reaching consensus on measures that a new Canada could adopt. But as the sun casts early-evening shadows over the constitutional committee, the fragile agreements of the morning come unravelled. Both Dupuis and LaBonté hold at discussing what a new Canada would look like. "I did not change overnight," LaBonté tells Regini. "There already left Canada I will discuss a Quebec senate, not a federal one."

Rogers later tries to put a good face on the breakdown, calling it a "good, rocky session." Fisher is more than. "There was blood on the floor," he says afterward. "It was a disaster."

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It is possible that it would be useful to keep some relations between two sovereign entities by the medium of a secede. But as two free parties, we should have equal membership. Well, three parties, with the natives. My objective is sovereignty. If they wish to have their federal government, keep it. We don't need it.

**TAKE ONE OF THESE and SLEEP
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Fisher (far right) makes a point during the Saturday early-evening session. *"Let us think through what a Canadian country would look like, recognizing the grievances. We're not asking Quebec to abandon all aspirations of independence."*

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Canada and maintain some personal relationship, that we show all the good things you get from this relationship to continue and leave all the things you perceive as being bad. It is not going to happen. There would be such bad feelings.

DUPUIS: My ideas are for Canada and Quebec. We both want to be prosperous. We won't eat each other. What does Canada have to lose?

MILLER: It is not that simple. You are talking about relations between two sovereign nations. How many prime ministers would there be?

DUPUIS: As many as you like.

MILLER: Not enough.

DUPUIS: No Quebec will have its own. If you want a republic, a parliament of regions, go ahead. We will choose our route. You choose yours.

PHILIP LALANDE: If we are going to make a decision about whether to stay together or split apart, my advice would be not to make the decision unless you take a crack at designing a system that would work.

LEBEAUX: You are asking me to design a system that would make me stay?

PHILIP LALANDE: No.

DUPUIS: Anglo Canada cannot impose anything on French Quebec. That would be the real issue.

MILLER: But I have out there is no such thing as a monolithic Anglo Canada.

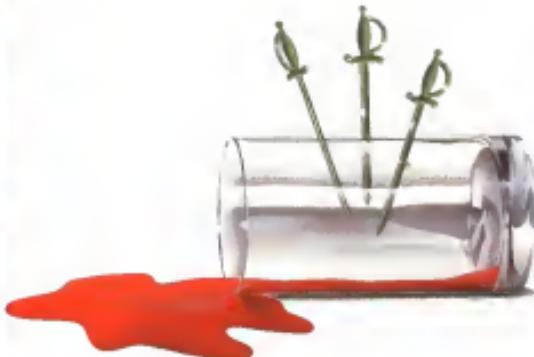
DUPUIS: If Quebec says a clear "no" to Canada, would Canada impose its views?

MILLER: You mean, would we send in the tanks?

● By that point, a clearly worried Fisher has adjourned his group's discussion at a nearby table and joins Riegner's. Other participants pull chairs alongside to listen to the discussion. Among them, Allayne comments to fellow Quebecer Lalonde and Nova Scotian Fisher: "They will never know what's going on at that table." The evidence is in the form of one of the first people at the center of the room, Miller and Geddes, an elderly man-about-town. Dupuis has risen, jiggling nervously, rubs his eyes repeatedly. And LeBeau, brusque and angry, launches into a pointed, and painful, description of how hard Quebecers have been by what they now consider to be the rest of the country.

Fishery, but in a voice hushed with concern, Fisher argues that Dupuis and LeBeau should not blindly shut themselves out of a new Canada. Says Fisher: "Let us think through what a Canadian country would look like, recognizing the grievances. We're not asking Quebec to abandon all notions of independence."

LEBEAUX: The only thing I can say is that I am fed up with hearing the way I am hearing now. It is incredible. I don't have the words to say how I am hurt right now. I don't say it as right or wrong. Why have I left Canada? I don't want to hurt anyone. What lies beyond, I don't even want to know. I want to be ... not here. (In a breaking voice) And I think,



Don't Kill A Caesar With Ordinary Vodka.

Talking over dinner on Saturday night, from left, Collage, Lalonde, Allayne, LeBeau and Pratt. "We're not talking separation. We're talking getting together. I think we are unique and we have lost sight of that. Such different people for so long, and we're still together. And I bet that 200 years from now, we still will be. I hope that we still will be."

SATURDAY DINNER, 8:30 P.M.

● The consensus, which only that morning had seemed so tenuous, is now shattered. But the slow process of disuniting the group's dreams begins almost immediately. As they enter the dining room, Collage suggests that they push the three tables together so that they can eat on a grand scale. "We can eat instead of eating one." Miller says very little, waiting for dinner to be served. LeBeau, Dupuis and Lalonde sit by themselves at the end of a long table, speaking to one another in French. They eulogize former Quebec premier René Lévesque, and agree that under his leadership from 1976 to 1985, the Parti Québécois conducted what Lalonde called a "very democratic government." And they consider what both Canada and Quebec would survive independently of a breakup occurred.

Throughout the conversation, Collage moves closer to the group, finally pulling Lalonde aside to ask him, of LeBeau, "Doesn't she care that it would break Canada apart?" With Collage now included in the conversation, LeBeau

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The aim: a nation where all people feel at home and fairly treated



The Macleish's Forum of 12 representative Canadians, meeting with three expert research specialists, produced the *Outline of a Vision for a New Canada during an intensive, three-day retreat at an Ontario resort. They did not intend the document to be a definitive statement on the shape of a future Canada, but a realistic basis for further discussion and refinement. Just as important as the substantive suggestions is the fact that they were arrived at using a process under which people with dramatically different points of view could reach agreement fairly quickly, and without attorney, or a sole range of issues. The process that led to the writing of the draft could be extended to address other issues.*

The Bruins, June 9, 1991

INTRODUCTION

As individual Canadians with a wide range of interests and points of view, we have some joint suggestions:

1. Rather than trying to make hardline decisions now on the precise shape of Canada's future, we work together to clarify the vision of a Canada in which all Canadians would feel fully accepted, at home and fairly treated, and with an appropriate balance between national concern and local autonomy.

2. There is no guarantee that Canadians can both create such a vision and convert it into reality, but we should certainly try. And before risking any decision to abandon the goal of a Canada for all Canadians, we should look with equal care at what would be a realistic vision of a sovereign Canada, a sovereign Quebec and self-government for the First Nations.

3. A vision of Canadian working together is not simply a matter of constitutional language. We suggest that Canadians devote substantial effort to the human dimension—to understanding one another empathetically, to caring and sharing their concerns and ideas. And that they also work together to make the Canadian economy as prosperous and preparing for the future as they can. On a base of human understanding and economic cooperation, constitutional questions will be far easier to resolve. We suggest that all three activities be pursued concurrently.

PART A: MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

In recent years, as a consequence of economic and political circumstances, many Canadians have become increasingly concerned with their own immediate interests, and those of their neighbours, their immediate community and their province—and are more likely to ignore the interests of minorities, of other groups and of other provinces. There is often a lack of understanding, a lack of caring, a lack of empathy and less willingness to understand.

In contrast with most of the world, Canada has a record of which all Canadians can be proud. Yet many serious problems exist. Social, economic and constitutional questions have a better chance of being well handled if Canadian work more closely together, side by side, with greater understanding, empathy, tolerance, genuine concern and a willingness to share.

In many areas, much is being done. We suggest that Canadians consider further steps along the following lines to provide stronger bases on which economic and constitutional measures can be based:

1. Individual Canadians

- Travel more frequently and widely within Canada (there are places in Canada as far-flung as those elsewhere).
- Promote cultural education about Canada's first peoples.
- Encourage children to learn about all other Canadians—their culture, language, history and way of life.
- Be a role model by being open and respectful of all Canadians.
- Check out of studies, history and other courses being taught in their child's school for fairness.
- Encourage the schools to participate in student exchanges within Canada.
- When travelling, establish personal contact with others through professional, business or other connections.

2. Schoolteachers and school leaders

- Develop exchange programs within Canada.
- Tie more schools with schools in other regions.
- Create curricula with teachers from other schools in Canada for fairness, balance, etc.
- Invite guest speakers with different points of view and from different parts of Canada.
- Explore videotape and other options for familiarizing students with other parts of Canada.
- Travel with their students as class projects within Canada, including vacation travel.
- Use sport travel to become more familiar with all of Canada.

3. Nongovernmental organizations and entities

- Libraries, theatres, history, etc.: promote inexpensive package trips within Canada.
- Promote awareness and use of youth hostels within Canada and the availability of college residences for summer travel.
- Business corporations: consider easier business travel and meetings as opportunities to meet and work together with other Canadians in matters of common interest.

4. Provincial governments

- Co-operate in promoting travel opportunities
- Departments of education to work with those in other provinces on curricular changes to promote closer "all Canada" understanding.

• Arrange, as a national project, for the writing of a good history of all Canadians for all Canadians

5. Federal government

- Appoint a commission to replicate successes. Its task would be to find programs or projects in one province (day care, recycling, halfway houses, etc.) that are successful, and promote their replication to other areas.
- Organize joint problem solving groups. On any particular problem, get people from different parts of Canada to work together on it.
- Reduce suspicion by having an agency regularly produce popular and easily understood information, explaining, for example, where all federal tax revenues come from and as what they were spent.

6. Media

- Promote a magazine to establish a "reflecting success" feature each week which looks for successes in one community that might be replicated in others.
- Encourage bilingual publication of magazine and other articles.

PART B: THE ECONOMY

GENERAL RECOMMENDATION

A co-ordinated, cohesive national industrial policy: Goals:

- Improve industry.
- Increase competitiveness in global markets.
- Create jobs.
- Assist the disadvantaged.
- Improve co-operation among all Canadians.

The policy will be applied to some extent after the one in Japan, and may include a variety of international trade and industry.

The likely results of the plan are:

- An expanded economic pie for all Canadians to share.
- Reduced provincial fighting over a shrinking pie.
- Reduced business risks and uncertainty about the future.
- More economic opportunities, especially for minorities, francophones and indigenous populations.
- Reduction of inflation and worry.
- Increased stock value.
- Improvement in the quality of life for all.
- Increased efficiency and co-operation in many areas.
- Increased confidence of all citizens in Canada and its ability to meet the needs of all.

Major elements of the plan would include:

- Identifying Canada's strategic resources, strengths, international influences, skills, etc.
- Goals and resources for the population to meet these strategic goals, including strengthening education.
- Providing investment and training incentives—states, taxes, venture capital funds and so forth.
- Encouraging research, and developing and targeting it to strategic industries.
- Encouraging economic co-operation among regions, provinces, corporations and industries through structural means, such as joint boards.
- Providing a disciplined fiscal policy.
- Making marketing and distribution more efficient.
- Informing and consulting with the citizenry regularly.
- Ensuring that all people in Canada receive an equitable share of development in which they participate through ownership of natural or other resources, contribution of their labor or ideas or skills, or other effort.

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

1. Devise a National Plan

Initiated by:

- The office of the prime minister.

Co-ordinated by a national committee with representatives from such entities as:

- Federal ministers of industry, trade and technology.
- The Canadian Manufacturers' Association.
- Canadian Federation of Independent Business.
- Presidents of some major companies/employers.
- National Research Council Canada.
- Consultants with international perspective and knowledge of markets elsewhere.

Representation:

- The above organization would choose expert staffs and panels with membership from all previous.

Consultation:

- All significant groups in Canada to be formally consulted.
- Hearings to be held.

Timeline:

- First draft report the six months after convening.

Role:

- To study Canadian competitive strengths and propose methods, including programs outlined in this draft, to take advantage of them.
- Possibly to exist on a permanent basis to co-ordinate new ideas and spin-offs.
- Study models elsewhere, including in Japan and Germany, that could be used in Canada.

2. Identify Strategic Strengths

Co-ordinated by:

- Major Canadian business schools.
- International marketing experts.
- A full-time director hired by the national committee.

Role:

- Identify these industries, skills and activities in which Canada has or could readily develop an international competitive advantage.
- Study the resources and skills needed to turn that advantage into money.
- Use respective personal skills so that processes can assist one another to strengthen their individual and collective ability to develop international markets. This can be done through production, pricing, supply and marketing decisions and strategies.

3. Train and Retrain; Provide Job Development

Co-ordinated by:

- Industry associations in targeted industries.
- Universities, trade schools, institutes of technology.
- Government departments of education—federal and provincial.

Role:

- Provide opportunities for students in early in high school to learn skills in selected industries.
- Provide new community and college courses as necessary.
- Provide on-the-job training in key industries.
- Institute greater experience training courses in schools. Canadian Federation of Independent Business to take the lead, along with ministries of education in each province. Identify existing programs and co-ordinate

- Item: Stepback successes in programs and businesses
- Upgrade provincial education and teaching in the skills needed
- Establish day care centres in communities and companies to enable more women to work.
- Provide for job sharing as appropriate
- Provide alcohol, drug and other rehabilitation programs to improve the quality of work life.

4. Provide Financial and Business Incentives

Co-ordinated by:

- Government and provincial finance ministries
- Chartered banks, trust companies and other financial institutions
- Individual companies and estates
- Legislative committees in House
- Federal Business Development Bank

Works:

- Provide tax credits/deductions to individual and companies for R&D for training in strategic industries
- Make guaranteed loans, where appropriate
- Pass laws enabling pension funds and insurance companies to provide loans, start-up capital, bridge capital and other financing to new ventures
- Co-ordinate venture-capital companies
- Establish a special program of financial incentives for disadvantaged persons, minorities, First Nations and others
- Establish special programs of financial incentives for research and development in strategic industries

5. Expand and Target Strategic Research and Development

Co-ordinated by:

- National Research Council Canada
- Provincial councils
- National laboratories
- Appropriate legislative committees

Works:

- Co-ordinate work in producing innovation in strategic industries
- Serve central clearinghouse for information on new research and development
- Curtail duplication and inefficiency in research

6. Improve Provincial and Local Economic Co-operation, Synergy

Co-ordinated by:

- Individual provincial premiers and staff
- Federal and provincial regulatory agencies
- Industries involved
- Local community and business leaders

Works:

- Manage key resources more effectively
- Identify common interests in particular fields and divide the resource development, production, distribution and marketing to take maximum advantage of provincial strengths
- Encourage duplication
- Reduce trade barriers among provinces and co-ordinate trade and marketing policies with foreign sources and markets
- Use successful models where appropriate
- Consult the industries that would benefit most from such co-operation, including transport
- Decentralize federal regulation in fisheries, agriculture and other industries involved in this area, to promote greater efficiency and co-operation

- Develop regional economic boards to co-ordinate economic interests and development in all regions of Canada
- Develop synergistic economic strategies and projects among Quebec and other provinces, and among Aboriginal peoples and government, industry and others at all levels
- Promote the involvement of local business and civic leaders in carrying out national industrial growth while meeting local needs. This should include strategic planning, financing and advice on the development of local industries. Local leaders and any associations they may create would assist in finding jobs for the unemployed, promote small business opportunities and, because of that, improve the quality of life for people from those cultural, economic and physical backgrounds. The local development is intended to have a positive effect on the social aspects of communities through its economic improvements

7. Mandate Responsible Budgets, Federal and Provincial

Co-ordinated by:

- Federal and provincial ministries of finance
- Legislative finance committees

Works:

- Develop further studies to determine the best way to budget reasonably and manage overall debt, using models from elsewhere
- Increase budget responsibility partly through greater efficiency in government operations
- Conduct audits by outside, independent entities to eliminate and expose poor business practices and waste. Widely publicize the results

Results:

- Would reduce inflation
- Would eventually free money for social programs—money that would otherwise go to pay interest on government debt

8. Inform Canadians of All Progress; Involve Citizens

Co-ordinated by:

- Public relations staff of national committee
- Individual industries
- Provinces, federal government

Works:

- News conferences, media interviews, reports and other matters on a regular and ongoing basis
- Institute mechanisms to receive regular feedback from Canadian citizens and businesses
- Assign public members to regional economic boards and other bodies
- Widely publish regular evaluations of the strategic programs

PART C: THE CONSTITUTION

The Problem:

The current system does not afford some peoples, regions, provinces and communities within Canada the tools needed to adequately promote their economic, political and social interests. There is inadequate avenue for some people to participate in decisions that affect them. Moreover, Canada should be able to do more to care for, and improve the lives of, its people.

1. Representative Reforms

A possible outcome:

One cause of that problem is that the current system leads to distance elected officials from their constituents' views, needs and



**Those far away vodkas
with strange sounding names.**



**That Rocky Mountain water
and Canadian Prairie Rye Grain.**

Pure Alberta Vodka. Proud Canadian Vodka.

THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

concerns. The government, as currently structured, is not sufficiently representative.

A possible strategy:

One approach to dealing with this problem is to reform the system to make it more representative, to allow for greater and larger participation and representation of all the Canadian people.

Some specific reforms might include:

A. In the House of Commons and Senate of Canada, there shall be:

- Free voting—members would not be required by law practice or procedure to vote along party lines (in an effort to encourage members to cast a vote based on the needs of their constituents).

• Guaranteed representation for the First Nations of Canada.

• Fixed terms for members, which would eliminate the concept of the government resigning if its programs are defeated.

- Shorter terms for members of the House of Commons than for senators (in an effort to encourage members with shorter terms to be more responsive to their constituents).

B. The Senate of Canada shall be amended so that:

- Members are to be directly elected
- The number of senators is to be determined by further discussion.
- Members should be appointed on a political or geographic basis, using a combination of the two, according to an arrangement to be determined in further discussions.
- A specific number of seats will be reserved for representatives of the First Nations.
- The role of the Senate shall be limited to approving, amending or rejecting legislation.

C. The Bank of Canada shall be reformed so that each region shall be better represented on its board. The board's chairman would be appointed by the prime minister.

D. Representatives from the national political bodies of the First Nations shall be included in federal forums discussing issues or dealing with policy affecting the First Nations (e.g. constitutional reform).

E. Electoral reforms:

- Regular elections at fixed dates
- staggered elections for a portion of senators and members of the House of Commons (elected every two years), in an effort to provide short-term turnover in at least a significant portion of the Parliament, and hence greater responsiveness in constituents
- The amount of campaign contributions from individuals, corporations and interest groups shall be further limited.
- National political party spending shall be further limited.

• Recommendations should be explored by a member of the judiciary on the possibility and desirability of moving to a system of proportional representation.

2. Setting National Standards for Social Programs to Meet Basic Needs and Entitlements

A possible cause:

Another possible cause of the current situation is that there is disagreement about the apportionment of control over social programs among the federal government, the provinces, First Nations and the territories. It is difficult to balance the interests in having national standards and local flexibility.

A possible approach:

One way of approaching this problem is to allow Canadians to have more of a say in how these standards are set in the first place.

Some reforms might include:

A. A more representative government, as described in Section 1, to decide on national standards.

B. Wider consultation with people across Canada, especially those affected by a standard, including:

- The commission system reformed so that the result of the commission's inquiry shall be turned into draft legislation to be put before the legislative bodies for debate and vote.
- Public hearings
- Dissemination of information regarding standards via popular media.

C. There should be more uniform national standards for access to social programs (e.g. education, health care), and more flexible standards for the content of those programs (e.g. what is taught, how health care is provided).

D. Standards should be set to determine 'basic' needs of Canadians.

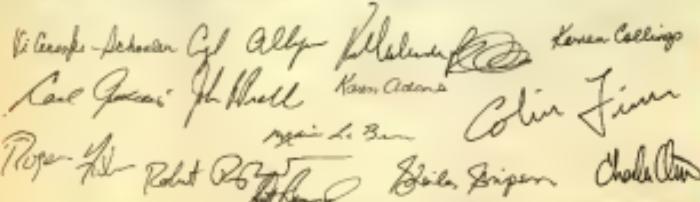
3. Process for Developing a Recommendation for a New Constitutional Amending Formula

A possible cause:

Another possible cause of the current situation is that Canadians are dissatisfied with the process for amending the Constitution, but have not been able to proceed through official channels towards changing the system. In particular, it would be difficult to produce a new formula through official channels when certain groups feel unrepresented or underrepresented in the existing process.

A possible approach:

The federal government, provincial governments, First Nations and the territories shall develop a joint recommendation for a new amending formula.



Handwritten signatures of the signatories, including: Li George Schreiner, Gyl Ally, Melvin, Karen Callings, Carl Giese, J. H. Howell, Karen Adams, Colvin Fitter, Regi L. Bon, Dale Grigor, Charles Clark, Roger H. Robert R. Bond, and Charles Clark.

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TECHNOLOGY IS PEOPLE

PEOPLE LIKE YOU. THAT'S WHY WE AT

CANON HAVE DESIGNED OUR TECHNOLOGY

IN HOPES IT WILL ENRICH THE QUALITY OF

LIFE. YOU HAVE ENTRUSTED US WITH THESE

VALUABLE RESOURCES AND WE WILL DO

OUR BEST TO REPAY THAT TRUST. WE WILL

DEVELOP OUR HARDWARE AND SOFTWARE

TO BE USED WITH MAXIMUM ECONOMY

AND EFFICIENCY—FOR PEOPLE LIKE YOU.

Canon

THINKING BEYOND TODAY

The Business Of Getting To Yes

'Many Canadians have stopped dealing with real problems. They must learn to care about each other again.'

As a member of a B-29 bomber crew in the U.S. Army Air Forces during the Second World War, Roger Farnum was taking off from a base in Guam when one of the aircraft's engines suddenly caught fire. The engine, which had risen about 50 feet off the ground, caused the aircraft to veer left and begin sliding off the end of the runway. As the crew scrambled to leave the plane, Farnum realized that the nose-climbing aircraft would explode, killing only passengers, a young marine flying for the first time, looked at the plane and called out, "Recalled Farnum." He stayed cool and collected—because he did not know any better. He looked at an crew members and said, "What do you guys usually do?" *

That story, which Fisher often tells with evident relish, illustrates one of the dilemmas involved in the business of what the Harvard law professor, founder of the Cambridge, Mass.-based consulting firm Conflict Management Group, calls "getting to yes." Says Fisher, who headed the three-year-old firm that Worldwide's related to direct the business of its 13-month-old constitutional division: "We negotiators are the people repeated to us that 'you can't have it when it is not clear what you want.'" For Fisher and his colleagues at OCA, achieving that clarity means finding a controlled blend of transparency, strategic positioning, and often, some spontaneous improvisation at the bargaining table. Says Fisher's associate, executive director Stuart Diamond: "We make the different sides realize that among them they have the answer. We provide the process leading to their conclusion."

That philosophy—and OMEP's success in applying it—has made the group arguably the most respected and sought-after practitioner in a fast-growing international field. The 69-year-old Fisher has worked as an adviser in ministries for governments in a dozen countries, including the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Colombia, El Salvador and South Africa. He helped the United States government devise the procedure that led to the landmark Camp David accord between Israel and Egypt in 1978.

In fact, Fisher is credited with inventing many of the techniques now regularly used by conflict resolution specialists—including a formalism called “principled negotiation,” which CMC describes as the cornerstone of its philosophy. That approach contrasts with many elements of traditional negotiating, including the conviction that disputing parties should begin talks with specific, declared objectives, as well as the insistence that positions they are prepared to fall back on

Ottawa-based Concorde Inc. in 1989. Since then, he says, his business has doubled in volume each year. His clients have included native groups, municipalities and both management and labor groups. Said Hoffmeyer: "We are looking at a process whose time has clearly come."

In fact, he and other experts foresee a variety of new uses for the field. With litigation costs rising dramatically across North America, many consumer companies are turning to environmental risk assessors to help settle disputes. And with environmental concerns on the rise, large companies and governments in industries are beginning to use independent auditors in environmental risk-assessment tasks to reach agreement on project development. As well, the increase in the numbers of native Canadian groups makes law specialists familiar with the complex.

"Roger is the first, and best." That's the variety of fields. Along with DOD, FBI, Harvard-based groups offering negotiations ranging from diplomatic issues, management relations and especially remarkable projects last year, it turns. Past countries and members of the NPT on negotiation techniques that would relate relations between them. In another group in Israel, Jordan, Syria, Saudi and Palestinian diplomats, no way to work.

Still, Fisher said that each situation generates seldom change. He cites an agreement between potential antagonists, commitment, communication, relate to the table. Those are building blocks.



¹⁰Under heading 2a *Surveillance* section, 'more willingness among private citizens to be flexible than among politicians'

common ground. At the MacLean forum, ONG negotiators asked the 13 participants to avoid getting mired in such traditional topics of debate as Quebec's language laws, the Mechi-Lake constitutional accord and what political parties they feel most comfortable with. Said Diamond at the outset: "We must avoid labels wherever possible."

• Attempt joint problem-solving: The participants are asked to work together to develop additional options beyond any proposals they have already brought to the table. This encourages them to work together and think creatively. At the June 7-to-10 retreat at Lake Simcoe, the negotiators asked federalists and Quebec sovereigntists to attempt each other as models with 10-minute presentations who would like to be heard.

• Use objective criteria and standards. Often, one or both sides rely on their overall strength or expertise to set conditions for agreement.

- **Developing new options.** Throughout the Marlow weekend, negotiators repeatedly told participants that they should try to think of options beyond those that had already been publicly suggested by politicians for Canada's future.

- Assess the alternative as a negotiated agreement. Each side is asked to consider realistically what the actual consequences will be if it is unable to reach an agreement with the other, and to consider whether that outcome justifies the risk. For their part, Quebec sovereigntists and Canadian federalists also briefly considered the consequences of certain

bes with each other. Without asking anyone to abandon that possibility, they agreed to look first at an agreement that would keep both together—one that would be better for everyone than nothing at all.

Separate the people from the problem. Every negotiation involves two sets of people and problems. A cool approach to the other side is far more likely to produce agreement than an aggressive, insulting manner. In fact, the *first* negotiation is said that the close relationships and bonding developed among participants in the *Maltese* loan negotiations were

- Diagnose problems and individual goals. Sometimes, two sides agree on solutions that do not deal with deeper overall problems. Both sides will look beneath problems for their root causes, a process that helps

hidden solutions. The *Narratives* participants were encouraged to look at why they and their colleagues felt personally aggrieved with the current state of Canada—and at how to change it.

Try to understand and another's needs. Often, parties make demands that are impossible for the other side to meet. Each side should start in the shoes of the other side to consider such other's pressures and give choices that make it easier to agree. In these key areas—culture, language and atmosphere—perceptions of each other, the other's requirements and their disagreements had for the first time

gives them insight into the concerns and fears of other groups. That insight, some of them said later, made it easier for them to try reasonably the different demands.

At the same time, 1975's Robert Macleish introduced a relatively simple chart of a circle divided into four quadrants. Using that chart, a regular tool in the group's work, he asked participants to divide problems—solving into four stages of thought: symptoms of the problem, diagnostic, general prescriptions and specific action ideas.

In the first stage, the Macleish's forum participants were asked to define the gap between the current situation in Canada and their preferred view of the country. The group listed problems including the country's moribund economy, inter-regional tensions and a chronic lack of that in the present political process.

In the second stage, the group began analysing how those problems had come to existence. They mentioned factors including elected political determinants to vote on party lines rather than reflect the wishes of constituents; a widespread sense that the present electoral process does not properly represent the needs of different regions and the subsequent lack of any coherent programme to guide the economy.

In the third stage, the group began offering solutions. They divided into three groups of four dealing with the Constitution, the economy and the acute lack of understanding among Canadians. Then, each group presented its findings and recommendations to all the participants, who discussed them further.

In the final step, the group moved towards a specific plan of action and followed the mediation procedure used at Camp David. The facilitators started with a rough draft and showed it to the participants, continually refining the text to reflect suggestions and reactions. At that point, no one made a comment either for or against any specific wording.

After three drafts, the group reached agreement. The final's joint statement included suggestions on how to improve the economy and increase goodwill among regions, as well as how to make politicians more accountable to the electorate. If those steps can be achieved, the document concluded, "constitutional questions will be far easier to resolve."

In addition to the seven techniques, one negotiator follows certain guidelines defining the way that they should conduct themselves as mediators. Declared Fisher: "There is often a perception that a negotiator must act very tough or very soft all the time, and be consistent in that. We reject that notion." Instead, the new philosophy, according to Fisher, is, "Be soft on the people, but hard on the problem."

In fact, Fisher, Diamond and Raphael said that they worked hard to apply all their usual methods to the Macleish's exercise. But, the two negotiators added, the experience of dealing with representative Canadians in such an environment sometimes contradicted with their past work. Usually, the group deals with elected politicians, professional diplomats or other trained negotiators. But in the case of the Macleish's weekend, Fisher said, he found the participants to be refreshingly in their approach. Declared Fisher: "There is a lot more willingness among citizens to be flexible than among politicians who continue to

worry about their past positions and what the media might say."

But the exercise of the forum posed a different problem. Many of one's tactics rely on conducting negotiations in a private, informal manner, so that participants feel less pressure to posture or defend previously articulated positions. Said Diamond: "Our sessions are usually highly confidential, severely restricted." But during the Macleish's forum, 13 editors and reporters and one photographer from the magazine monitored developments all through the weekend, as did a 25-member television crew that was preparing a one-hour special to be aired on CTV on June 30. Said Fisher of the Macleish's exercise, "I have never taken what were basically representative citizens and put them in a situation with television cameras and microphones." That process, he added, was sometimes "distressing." At one stage, Fisher said, the participants' awareness of the cameras surrounding them caused them to "fall back into hardened positions sounding like broken records." He added: "It really exacerbated the initial problem."



Forum members meeting in groups on Sunday, trying to understand one another's needs

Despite such differences, Fisher said that the process of the sessions was consistent with the original Macleish plan. And, said Diamond, the way in which Macleish's 12 diverse and often divided participants moved to agreement on issues provided a model that could easily be used across Canada. Declared Diamond: "If this group can come up with the ideas it [managed] after two days, without millions of dollars, tremendous political-clout or huge staffs, then the people who run this country ought to be able to come up with an even better list in a reasonable time."

At the same time, the CTV members developed their own impressions of Canada's constitutional debate. Declared Fisher: "Many Canadians have stopped dealing with real problems. They must learn to care about each other again—as these people learned to do." Said Diamond: "One reason Canadians have not said 'yes' to anything is that there are not enough ideas on the constitutional table." He added: "Just because Canada has been talking about things for more than 100 years does not mean it is talking about the right things." For both men, the key to successful negotiation—and redefining Canada's future—requires both a new kind of talk and a renewed willingness to listen.

WORKING LATE



"Well, that's done. Feel like stopping off for a drink when we leave?"

"Thanks, but I'll save it for home. I'm driving tonight."

Seagram

P.O. Box 147 Station H Montreal, Quebec H3G 2M6

The Voices Of A Nation

How Decima assembled the tribes of thought



In the discontented chorus of cities across Canada, these 12 voices expressed themselves with differently unison harmony. From committed federalists through moderates and courageous seekers to Quebec separationists, the diverse Canadian thought together by Marlene's *the* *as*—strapped of their natural biases and conditioning—they could develop a consensus view of one Canada were naturally caused only by the depth of their different convictions. The participants in the Marlene's project were chosen by means of an extensive system of "cluster analysis" developed by Decima Research. Marlene's regular polling firm, headed by Alan Gregg. To sum, and Decima vice-president Catherine Murray, "We had to go much deeper than regular polls on national issues, and to understand the reasons behind the voting patterns and more."

Marlene's asked Gregg and Murray to identify specifically the clusters of thinking in the country, cull together, constitute a portrait of the main patterns of thought that dominate the nation. Then, by carefully selecting individuals whose views matched the characteristics of each cluster, Murray and her team would create a panel that represented the collective thought patterns of the nation. Says Murray: "We also wanted to get beyond the conventional stereotypes from interest groups and politicians to have Canadians speak for the majority."

The project arose after the collapse a year ago of the March 1982 constitutional accord, when Marlene's began searching for a more in-depth way to examine the views of representative Canadians. To form a group that would reflect that broad range of opinions, Decima began by looking at its recent political sampling, including the seventh annual Maclean's/Decima poll, published in January. It and another survey, which also involved 1,500 Canadians and was released at about the same time, focused on identifying the values, attitudes and beliefs that predominated in the national political scene. Then, Decima checked those responses against results from its monthly polling on national issues over the past year.

After a lengthy analysis of those results, Murray and Ottawa-based Decima consultant John Lewis were able to identify what they described as the six most widespread schools of political thought in Canada—three in Quebec, and three in the rest of the country. Murray said that the current gulf in political thinking between Quebec and the rest of the country is so deep that Decima finally decided to treat Canada,

for the purpose of the selection, as "two countries."

With that, Decima staff made more than 400 additional calls across the country to find people whose opinions most closely reflected the six clusters. Dennis and Marlene's then selected a shortlist of 35 possible participants from coast to coast, and Marlene's creditors and regulators re-arranged these to include nine people who were the most articulate in expressing their views. The final choice of 12 was also influenced by the need to balance the various regions of Canada, differing ages, both sexes and the relative promiscuity of the specific points of view.

There was one exception to that selection process. Marlene's stated and Dennis agreed that the forum should have a native Canadian participant, but standard telephone polling methods do not produce a representative sampling of the native population. As a result, Marlene's mounted its own search for an articulate spokesman for native issues, one with no current affiliation with specific native political organizations. The choice: Yukon folk-singer and writer Carol Geddes.

Of the other 11 participants, many consciously expressed views that set them apart from the clusters that Decima placed them in. And, says Murray, some of the participants may even object to the designation that Decima attached to them. Still, she declared with pleasure at the end of the weekend, "they were consistent and articulate representatives of the respective patterns of thought that they were chosen to



Murray: Academy to divisions that won the country



"The difficulties Canadians now face are the same difficulties we have faced and overcome many times in the past. If we have the strength of will and the dedication to nation building, then this nation will be preserved and the trust of those who have invested in this country will be amply rewarded." *—MURRAY MURRAY, CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER*



75 OFFICES ACROSS CANADA

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THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

represent." The positions they took in the discussion confirmed the validity of the positions, she added.

Outside Quebec, there are three main clusters of thought, which Maritain's and Decore chose to label as Farn Federalists (33 per cent) of the adult population, Peacemakers (27 per cent) and Fed-up Federalists (40 per cent). Within Quebec, there are also three main clusters: Quebec Federalists (44 per cent), Hard Separatists (33 per cent) and Moderates (24 per cent).

The main characteristics of each group:

Farn Federalists: People in this category are very proud to call themselves Canadians. They say that there is a shared Canadian identity and that Canada can play a significant role in shaping world events. As well, they say that the federal system has treated them well, and that the interests of their respective provinces are adequately served within the current system. Farn Federalists also say that they are happy with the status quo in federal power sharing, but unhappy with the problems that they are throughout the country. They have not decided if Quebec will secede, and they say that they are uncertain what will happen if it does. They also have not made up their minds about whether all the provinces should have equal representation in Ottawa, but generally they say that they favor a slightly stronger federal government. The participants who fit this overall description were Karen Adams, Cole Pan and Richard Miller.

Peacemakers: Canadians who fall under the broad umbrella of Peacemakers say that there is a very strong likelihood that Quebec will secede—and that such an event would produce high-economic costs and radical changes in their personal lives. To avoid that, they say that they favor meeting Quebec's demands by shifting more power to all provinces. They also place a high value on consultation, support a national bilingualism policy and are generally receptive in Quebec's claims to special status. Despite their willingness to give more power to the provinces and uphold provincial values, they favor strong national standards for certain economic and social policy issues.

Peacemakers say that it is important to protect the less fortunate in society and, as a result, they place a high value on continued equalization payments to the provinces.

The two participants who fell into this category are Karen Colgate and John Prull.

Fed-up Federalists: Like some Quebecers, these Canadians say that their province has been unfairly treated in the federal system, but they claim that they are not well represented in Parliament. But unlike their francophone Quebec counterparts, they say that they believe in a common Canadian identity. They also support a more balanced voice for smaller provinces in the federal government. And they favor a more decentralized form of federalism. People in this category say that they are dissatisfied with the national government as a normal condition in that they are unusually high at present.

Although those who lean towards the Fed-up Federalist position—

other than embracing it wholeheartedly—say that Canadian federalism is already decentralized almost as much as it should be, they also agree for more provincial control in certain areas. Still, in a referendum they would probably vote for the status quo.

The participants who fit the general description of the group were Valrie Gendron-Schoder and Sheila Simpson. Decore determined that Gendron also belonged to that category.

Quebec Federalists: This group is generally more assertive than its counterpart in the rest of the country. Those who fall into the category reject the name of two linguistic isolates. They identify strongly with other regions of Canada, and they say that the country is far more than the sum of its parts. Federalists in Quebec differ from Farn Federalists in a critical area: although they favor maintaining the status quo, they would likely favor greater provincial power in a referendum. Within the umbrella group, there is a subgroup whose members are alienated enough within Canada to question the existence of a common Canadian identity. And all members of the larger category say that they have been left out of the current debate and feel powerless to affect it.

The participant who represented the group is Robert L'Allier.

Hard Separatists: Members of this cluster are highly pessimistic about finding any acceptable solution to Canada's problems. They favor a sovereign Quebec and believe that the province has nothing in common with the rest of Canada. They also reject claims that Canada has a clear national identity. And they say that historical grievances and the unfair treatment of Quebec within Canada justify the province's right to be considered a distinct society.

Hard Separatists in general favor provincial control of virtually all policy fields, in some cases including currency. Most want full independence for Quebec and a currency-market arrangement with the rest of Canada.

Charles Dugas and Marie Lejeune were the participants who represented this category.

Quebec Moderates: Moderates are prepared to accept the existence of a common Canadian identity, and reject claims that Canada is a nation of two isolates. They agree with their Hard Separatist counterparts on some issues, but the Moderates do not insist on any special status for Quebec. Members of this group say that any province should have equal power—regardless of population—in a currency-market arrangement. They generally favor customized equalization payments from the federal government to the provinces, a common currency system and the protection of national standards in some social policy fields.

Cyril Allouye was the participant who reflected this cluster.

Taken together, the participants in the Maritain's/Decore group have strong and positive characteristics that represent an accurate picture of the author's thinking, said Marney. Their weekend discussions were an eloquent testimony to the deep divisions that scar the country—and a beacon of hope for the future.

Although those who lean towards the Fed-up Federalist position—

ANOTHER MYTH SHATTERED



Given the meetings were a beacon of hope for the future



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The Experts' Report

The Harvard conflict resolution team sums up—and finds cause for optimism



A team of conflict resolution experts from the Harvard Negotiation Project and Conflict Management Group of Cambridge, Mass., led by law professor Roger Fisher, guided 12 Canadians in discussions about the future of the country during the MacBrien's forum held at the Bessies, north of Toronto, from June 7 to 10. Their report:

In Canada today, as in every other important conflict with which we have dealt, people are reasonably saying "no" to what they hear themselves being asked to do. The Bessies participants identified four questions confronting Canadians:

1. Should we agree to independence for Quebec?
2. Should we accept a stronger federal government?
3. Should we accept a weak federal government with strong provinces?
4. Should we agree to self-government for the First Nations?

Today, a majority of Canadians appear opposed to each proposal—and for good reason. None of them has been worked out in practical detail. Each has been advanced unilaterally as a position that meets the wishes of some people. None was designed to meet the interests of most people. Each proposal is advanced as a big decision to be made before working out practical, operational details. But most Canadians are reluctant to head off into a vague unknown. There does not appear to be a sufficiently clear picture of each alternative future.

Canadians may have problems, but it has done well—so well that for much of the world, Canada is often a model. Understandably, Canadians still see faults and want to do better. But we wonder whether the right questions have been asked. Are different languages and cultures really the problem? After all, the people of Switzerland do well with four languages. Canada's primary difficulties may lie neither in cultural differences nor substantive problems, but rather in how states deal with those differences and problems.

Just as a better agreement between husband and wife about separate bedrooms or where they should live requires talk of division, divisions over language may lead to talk of separation. But culture, location or language is the real issue. A troubled relationship is. And in agreement or a substantive vision will ease that troubled relationship.

We have for some years studied how people successfully deal with their differences—what works and what doesn't. We are not experts in

substantive issues, such as the Canadian Constitution. We focus on the process of conflict management. We don't provide substantive answers. We help people to be their own leaders and then try to provide a listening ear and support them. Unfortunately, many Canadians have no interest in process. They say, "I don't care what road I take, as long as I end up where I want to be." But where they end up usually depends on what road they take. The many years of unsuccessful discussion in Canada suggest that the past process is not an effective means for dealing with the nation's problems.

The 12 participants at the Bessies found a different road. They found that exploring underlying interests was more effective than arguing over respective positions. They jointly developed a array of options that might serve the interests of all Canadians. Then, they suggested specific, constructive steps to bring it about. This is the sort of process that we recommend for Canada.

The specific action plan suggested by the participants at the Bessies is not really the lesson of the weekend. We found they—wise race better ideas were out there. The real lesson is that a diverse people, advanced for their differences and representation of various major Canadian viewpoints, could work so well together. Over a weekend, using a systematic process of analysis and discussion, they could deal effectively with their differences and agree on a large number of suggested actions. And if a dozen citizens without major resources could do that, we suspect that Canada's leaders, with the help of their constituents and millions of dollars in resources, could do it, too.

But citizens need not wait for their leaders. Individual citizens of Canada, individually as well as collectively, can probably make a far greater difference than they realize. At least the intransigent readers of this magazine are being exposed to these ideas and suggestions. Citizens can, plus, do detailed, possible futures before choosing one, or abandoning any idea. Few would want Canada to meet the interests of Quebec. But equally right a separate Quebec handle the interests of native Canadians, country roads? Consider the problems, not each other. Be creative. Work with others, using the collective talents, experience and points of view. Talk and listen. Draft and redraft. Make decisions early in the process. No process will lose. The best ideas will win.

ROGER FISHER, STUART DIAMOND and ROBERT RICIGLIO



Diamond (standing), Ricigliano and Fisher: process



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Modern portrayal of the Confederation meeting at Quebec City in 1864: a mixed agreement on the division of powers

The Roots Of Conflict

The ghosts of ambiguity and omission haunt Canadian unity



In the beginning, ambiguity was a refuge and a virtue. There were the 36 Fathers of Confederation, largely lawyers and businessmen, struggling to craft a Constitution out of the conflicting demands of four provinces and two cultures. Through theداول negotiations of 1864, through hours of committee of the whole, through the focus of their talks from the various provinces to the proponents. In the end, they left much to chance, they made no reference to their founding fathers or equal provinces, they made no single declaration as to the strength of the central government, they did not incorporate an amending formula. Instead, they hammered out a mutual agreement on the division of powers and obligations—and on the composition of institutions. That agreement became the British North America (1864) Act of 1867. Passed by the British Parliament, it outlined the basic structure of a new nation. The Fathers' ambiguous legacy was at once glorious and unnerving. They created Canada—and 124 years of constitutional struggle.

The ambiguities and omissions haunt the history of Canada's efforts to change its Constitution. Without an amending formula, changes to federal legislation required the consent of the British Parliament. Without a clear constitutional status, competing visions coexisted uneasily. It was not uncommon—and perhaps unavoidable—questions that Canada even had two foundations, and perhaps irreconcilable—questions that could never be fully resolved. Who was the central government? How powerful? For the first 80 years of Canada's existence, there were no formal constitutional ratios—but a constant battle for power between the provinces and Ottawa pursued the decades.

From 1867 until 1900, there were 18 unsuccessful attempts to bring the Constitution home from Westminster with an amending formula. The first efforts at constitutional reform, olive drift with Ottawa's demands for more power. By 1869, the flood had shifted. As the Quiet Revolution remobilized Quebec society, the Quebec government sought more economic and cultural powers, as well as the ability to pay for the exercise of those powers. Other provinces joined the chorus of demands. In

1873, Quebec was the sole province to withhold its consent when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau negotiated an agreement that brought the Constitution home in 1982 with an amending formula and a charter of rights, but without significant additional powers for Quebec.

Nine years later, the same themes that haunted the Fathers are still dividing their heirs. The 1995 issue of the March 1864, a constitutional package designed to win Quebec's consent to the new Constitution, vividly embodied the unresolved constitutional issues that define Canada's history. Canadians, in fact, are arguing about the same issues that the Fathers struggled with in an era of empire. The irony is familiar: Should Quebec be considered a "distinct society" or one of 10 equal provinces? Do Canadians deserve better representation through a stronger national government or through stronger provincial governments? Should Canada find a better amending formula?

Adding to the controversy is the fact that the 1862 Charter of Rights and Freedoms gives new recognition to long-overlooked voices Canada's aboriginal, women, multicultural groups. These voices have added new and often competing claims to the constitutional ecosystem. In response, the politicians and academics of 1995—like the representative members of the Macleod's focus on the debate—have no single constitutional prescription. Observed University of Toronto political scientist Richard Sassano: "Not only do we have to deal with the contentious issues that we inherited from the past, but we also have to resolve a host of new issues which generate new constitutional agenda. That immensely complicates the constitutional debate—and the range of possible answers."

The roots of the current debate lie in the conflicting aims of Canada's original constitutional negotiators. Appalled by the ravages of the Civil War in the American federation, Sir John A. Macdonald, who became Canada's first prime minister, concluded that federations in themselves were divisive entities. The solution that he sought was a strong central government. He chief champion, Sir George Etienne Cartier, was to honor Canada's "diversity of races" and to preserve Quebec's language and Roman Catholic schools. The BNA Act was thus ambiguous on the powers of the provinces. The extraordinary legal war between Ottawa and the provinces was the stuff of legend, but it was largely waged on the political and fiscal front. Throughout the 1800s, as the Depression深到了, Ottawa "deadlocked" Alberta's bid to set monetary policy, the British Privy Council, in turn, ruled that Ottawa's proposed fiscal standards, its version of the American New Deal, were an intrusion on provincial powers. In wartime, Ottawa consolidated its fiscal strength, taking control over personal and corporate taxes, thus transferring a portion of that revenue to the provinces.

In the postwar boom, throughout the late 1940s and the 1950s, Ottawa was a leader in the development of the welfare state, partly through direct programs such as unemployment insurance and partly through the creation of shared-cost programs such as health insurance. Most provinces, including Ontario, argued that an arena of federal spending power. In the end, Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis resisted the sole dominion; he refused to participate in several shared-cost programs, among them postsecondary funding. But because

They fought for their share of tax dollars. When Ottawa spent money on provincial affairs, the provinces had to exclude Ontario from administration of such programs—while keeping the money.

They faced off in formal constitutional talks. In 1982, Macdonald's shaggy, Canada's first court of appeal, the British Privy Council, began to limit federal power. In 1883, the council announced that "the local legislature is supreme and has the same authority as the Imperial Parliament or the Parliament of the Dominion would have under like circumstances." In that same year, the Quebec government, with the support of Ontario Premier Oliver Mowat, hosted five of the then-seven premiers at an interprovincial conference in 1883. Their demands have a familiar ring: violation of Ottawa's right to dualist provincial legislation, adoption of Ottawa's right to declare that provincial understandings were in the national interest, the right to nominate half of the Senate's members, increased federal subsidies. Macdonald agreed them.

Nearly 40 years later, Great Britain encouraged Canada's first federal provincial attempts at major constitutional reform. In 1928, the Balfour Declaration recognized that the colonies were independent entities. In response, a 1937 Canadian federal-provincial conference launched the search for an amending formula. The provinces were sharply divided. According to the official statement, "unanimous agreement" was not far off as it was claimed. "But if Canada had the right of self-government, then her constitutional rights and demands could be made." Four years later, when the British Parliament was about to adopt the principles of the Balfour Declaration in the Statute of Westminster, the premiers and the Prime Minister tried again. They failed. Canada asked Britain to change the statute so that Britain retained the power over the Canadian Constitution.

Throughout the next three decades, the constitutional amendment issue was almost forgotten. The times were divisive: the Depression, the Second World War; the postwar boom. In that climate, the extraordinary legal war between Ottawa and the provinces was the stuff of legend, but it was largely waged on the political and fiscal front.

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Screen: a complicated agenda involving both old and new issues

PHOTO: GUY LAWRENCE

Duplessis did not set up pretensions to competition with those of Ottawa, but appointment did not create significant national party positions.

In 1853, Prime Minister MacKenzie King told the premiers that he would entertain proposals to amend the Constitution to extend Ottawa's authority to regulate wages and working conditions. The premiers largely agreed that after federal, the federal government and eight of the nine existing provinces could join together in amending formulas. When New Brunswick withheld its consent, the proposal was quietly shelved. In 1860, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent and the premiers tried again to find an amending formula. These too failed.

That set the stage for the modern constitutional crisis. In June, 1960, the Liberals won the Quebec election—and the Quiet Revolution. Quebec's delayed entry into the modern world, was born. Ardently anticlerical, the new government wished to use the Quebec government to defend francophone rights and interests. It shook off control of dominion by the Roman Catholic Church and it concluded that the existing division of powers and financial arrangements did not allow Quebecers to benefit "masters in our own house."¹¹



Malouff and partners during 2007 talks leading to the Moose Lake accord; citing Quebec as a distinct society.

In 1964, at a stormy federal-provincial meeting, Premier Jean Lesage forced Ottawa to accept Quebec's withdrawal from several interprovincial cost-sharing programs, such as hospital insurance, but to provide critical financial compensation. As a result, Quebec "opted out." Ottawa gave 44 per cent of the personal income tax collected within the province to Quebec, while the other provinces received only 20 per cent. Lesage also won the right to establish a Quebec pension plan.

Meanwhile, constitutional reform remained stalled in 1965. Ottawa and the provinces drafted the so-called *Father-Labour Accord*, which included provisions for each level of government to delegate power to the other. The existing bill did not receive unanimous approval, largely because the Quebec government insisted that its federal partners would delegate power whenever Ottawa suggested any fiscal programs—hence Quebec had to pay for the program. If Quebec wanted to run its own competing programs, there was no alternative but to accept the federal delegation demands. As a result, Quebecers could not be sure the new resulting formula would truly be a constitutional choice, and the process of constitutional reform was again stalled.

its citizens that would become available elsewhere—funded by Ottawa. In 1964, Ottawa and the provinces created the *Federal-Provincial*

minating formula. Two years later, Quebec again withheld its consent to the constitutional act, but the formula was unchanged and that could lead to the province's stronger-than-ever power. Observed the University of Toronto's Senator: "Quebec did not really begin to make constitutional demands until the election of Premier Jean-Jacques Létourneau in 1986. In particular, Jean-Jacques Létourneau's demands were a response to the federalist Justice Minister's views on the transfer of tax powers." Quebec's tax and that Quebec's spending special status would slippery slope to separation and that this should be an issue raised by the federalists for tax revenue. That would help to capture Quebec's demands away from fiscal and policy issues onto constitutional ones.

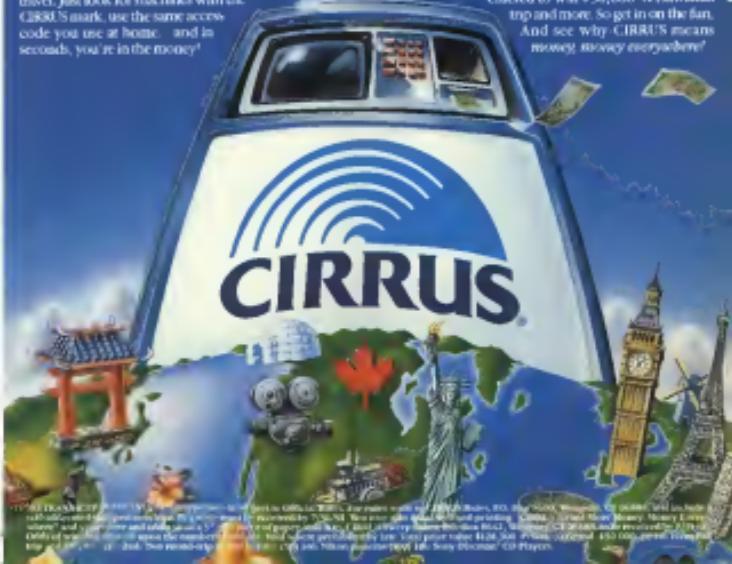
There were four more unsuccessful attempts to bring home the Constitution between 1967 and 1980. As each attempt failed, and as Ottawa and the provinces waged increasingly bitter struggles over scarce fiscal resources, more provinces, such as Alberta and Newfoundland, supported Quebec's demand for more powers. The pattern was set.

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a 19-point margin. A motion to launch a campaign for reformed federalism, Trudeau called another federal-provincial conference. When that meeting failed to reach agreement on 12 items including an amending formula, the Prime Minister introduced a parliamentary resolution to bring home the Constitution unilaterally with an amending formula and a charter of rights.

Two provinces—Ontario and New Brunswick—voted against the motion, eight opposed it. On Sept. 25, 1981, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that Ottawa had the legal right to privatize the Constitution unilaterally but it added that an amending constitutional convention required Ottawa to obtain an "unspecified" consensus among the provinces before it proceeded. Five weeks later, after a dramatic rise of constitutional hartacking, Ottawa and all provinces except Quebec agreed to privatize the Constitution with a charter of rights and an amending formula. That formula required the consent of Ottawa and seven provinces with at least 50 per cent of the population to change the Constitution. Several key areas, such as changes to the office of the governor general, required unanimous consent. Said a strident Quebec Premier René Lévesque: "Quebec finds itself all alone."

Another decade of constitutional fighting began. Legally, the Constitution applied to Quebec. But the province refused to endorse a package that did not meet its political demands. In 1987, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the 13 premiers signed the Meech Lake accord, which dealt with more than a century of familiar Quebec requests. It recognized Quebec as a "distinct society." It expanded the areas in the amending formula that required unanimity, giving Quebec, in effect, a veto. It guaranteed compensation to provinces that withdrew from federal spending programs in areas of provincial jurisdiction, if the provinces then launched a program that was "compatible with the national objectives." It also established a provincial role in Senate appointments.

That historic accord met Quebec's basic requirements, but it ran into stiff opposition in other parts of Canada. The so-called charter groups argued that the accord did not deal with their constitutional demands. Native people said that they also deserved a distinct society and that the Constitution should endow them with the right to self-government. Other Canadians objected to the very suggestion of a distinct society, claiming that it conferred spe-



Queen Elizabeth II signing 1982 Constitution in Ottawa; new focus

cial status in Quebec while all provinces should be equal. Still others demanded the process used to reach the agreement—the 13 First Ministers had produced a document behind closed doors, which they then refused to change. The accord died in June 1990 when two provinces—Manitoba and Newfoundland—withheld their consent.

Now, of constitutional provision, and Canada's constitutional process itself, are up for discussion. Quebec has expanded its demands. The charter groups are competing other agendas. Across Canada, academics, politicians and Canadians generally, such as those at the Meech's authors, are seeking new solutions to old problems.

The process. Many Canadians now want that politicians consult the public formally or informally, before they try to reach another agreement. In response, University of Toronto political scientist Peter Russell, for one, favors the formation of a constituent assembly, comprising the 16 provinces. Aboriginal peoples—if they wished—could also participate. If the constituent assembly emerged with a package, Ottawa and the provinces could use the current amending formula to adopt it. Still, Russell has stipulated that Quebec, natives and northerners should consent to amendments that affect them. Declared Russell: "We would then truly have constituted ourselves in a people."

The amending formula. The failure of the Meech Lake accord convinced many Canadians, including those in the Meech's forces, that the current amending formula must be changed. There are at least three ways in which to achieve that objective: a veto for Quebec, the extension of veto power to all provinces or the adoption of entirely new procedures for major changes.

The Quebec Liberal party espoused the first approach earlier this year when it called for a new formula: seven provinces with at least 50 per cent of the population including Quebec. Some academics say that Quebec's veto could be restricted to changes in national institutions.

The Meech Lake accord would have represented a community for major amendments, even though many academics claimed that the system would be unworkable. Declared Donald Stevenson, the innocuous to the principal at Toronto's Glendon College: "Consistency always gives the last person 'let the power of blackmail.' That was one of the main causes of the failure of Meech Lake." But an architect of the



BNA Act and other historical documents: legacy

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current journals, Peter Mediator, a University of Alberta vice-president, countered that the formula was flexible. He pointed out that many Meech-like provisions did not require unanimity. Ontario could have proclaimed them. The Meech said that large amendment packages may require a different formula—such as a constitutional referendum.

The distinct society. Quebec has its own language, culture, and government. It is recognized that it constitutes a "distinct society." This insistence also from the convention that Confederation represented a treaty between two founding nations—and that Quebec has the right to preserve and promote its distinctiveness. In contrast, in the so-called *Roots of Canada*, the phrase often promotes major "many Canadians" as a fundamental principle of Confederation.

In fact, the ambiguous BIA Act makes no such claim. Provinces have often received different rights and different obligations. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia received more Senate seats than the western provinces, mainly. In-legal rights applied only in the legislature of Quebec. Still, as University of Prince Edward Island political scientist David Maitre observed, "The Canadian federation has seen a steady and growing movement towards the equality principle."¹¹ Those conflicting views are probably the greatest barrier to agreement on a constitutional package.

Division of powers. The Quebec Liberal party now demands that Quebec receive exclusive authority over 22 areas of jurisdiction, including culture, language, language development, and regional development. The other provinces have varied approaches, generally centralizing, decentralizing, or "balancing," special powers for Quebec. At the root of the problem is the fact that Canadians are probably unwilling to establish special status for Quebec; they are probably equally unwilling to accept massive decentralization to all provinces. Some academics, such as University of Western Ontario political scientist Robert Young, have suggested that Ottawa transfer jurisdiction over language, culture and communications to the provinces. That might ease Quebec's concerns about the preservation of its language and culture. Other scholars, including University of Toronto law professor Michael Trebilcot, have called for a "rebalancing" of Confederation in which social, language and cultural policies would be decentralized to the provinces while economic powers would be centralized.

Prince Edward Island's Maitre had one of the more innovative recommendations: give concurrent jurisdiction in many fields to both Ottawa and the provinces to ensure that each province has equal powers. Provincial laws would have precedence in those fields over federal laws. Some provinces and Maitre, would likely choose to ignore their new powers, while others would use them to legislate according to their own interests, effectively shorting out Ottawa. We all: provinces would remain theoretically equal. (Canada now has only three areas of concurrent jurisdiction: agriculture, immigration, and pollution.)



Ottawa crowd celebrates new charter, April 17, 1982; power

National institutions. The Meech's forces called for an electoral Senate to ensure better representation for the regions within the federal government. That approach echoes the western provinces' call for a "Triple E Senate," an effective, elected body with equal representation from each province. In contrast, the Quebec Liberal party called for the abolition of the Senate. The debate is a battle because the West appears to be in an alliance with Quebec. Quebec would have nearly 10 per cent of the seats in a Triple E Senate—even though it has 25 per cent of the population. As a compromise, some nations say that Quebec senators could exercise a veto over federal legislation on education or culture, and matters affecting the French language.

Spending powers. Spending is a central issue in the current debate. Provincial leaders fear that Ottawa will surrender constitutional control over programs for keeping the revenues that funded those programs. The Quebec Liberal party has demanded the abolition of Ottawa's right to spend in areas of Quebec's exclusive jurisdictions. In an impressive response, 28 Canadians, including former Ontario premier William Davis and former Saskatchewan premier Allan Blakeney, recommended that Ottawa and the provinces "be restricted in spending in their own fields of jurisdiction unless by mutual agreement."¹² The group added that Ottawa should transfer to the provinces the tax revenues that it now devotes to social programs.

The charter of rights. At the core of the debate is a fundamental disagreement over the principles of individual and collective rights. Individual rights were entrenched in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The result: charter groups, such as women and natives, now have a legal avenue to uphold their individual rights. In contrast, Quebec society has a historical attachment to its collective rights. The original 1867 Act and the charter itself, in fact, recognize collective rights. The two views clashed in 1988 when Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa invoked the so-called notwithstanding clause to restrict the individual right to freedom of expression so that he could limit the use of English or common religious. To many Quebecers, Bourassa was simply protecting collective rights. To most charter groups, he was violating individual rights. As well, the premier has asserted that the charter cannot take precedence over a future distinct society clause.

These issues—largely Canada's past, its present and its future. Since the proclamation of the British North America Act, they have underscored the struggle for power and money at the constitutional bargaining table, in the courts and during the division of the taxation revenues. Canadians may not solve those problems during the upcoming round of constitutional talks. The demands are numerous and conflicting; the divisions are deep. Still, as Canadians wrote, once again, with familiar themes, they do it in the knowledge that 124 years of constitutional tinkering did not prevent 224 years of often prosperity and sometimes profound national

MARY JANGAN



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A HOUSE DIVIDED

He is a distinguished scholar, post-graduate with wide experience in government. But he is also a stoic in poor health, atherosclerosis and widely considered to be a political lightweight.

He has been sent to parliament and leads a fraction party triumphant by the assassination of his last leader and at least 15 seats of a legislative majority. With the burden of all shadowing him on his final shoulder, 70-year-old P. V. Narasimha Rao, who last year underwent brain bypass surgery, was sworn in last Friday as India's new prime minister. The ceremony took place at precisely 12:05 p.m. last Saturday, the day that Rao's assassins deemed to be the most propitious. But the daunting task of healing the ethnically and religiously divided Indian nation together will clearly require more than a simple convergence of the states. And even some of Rao's party colleagues expressed doubts about his ability to succeed. And surely no-re-elected Congress (I) party secretary, Sharjeel Ali, Abidullah Rao, a legal Congress member for five decades, had served in senior cabinet portfolios under

that government seemed to dignify the appearance of unity caused by Rao's unanimous election to the party leadership. Just Thursday, that Rao's administration occurred only after Sharjeel Pervaiz, a powerful, 58-year-old, Bombay politician, withdrew from the leadership contest under pressure from the Congress hierarchy. And it was clear that deep rifts remained within the party, which has ruled India for all but five of the country's 64 years of independence. Meanwhile, to reinforce prime minister, Rao must survive a parliamentary vote of confidence, to be held within a month, and win a seat in the 544-member Lok Sabha (lower house) within a month. Analysts said that he would probably surmount both hurdles—the first because opposition MPs will be to

INDIA PREPARES FOR A MINORITY GOVERNMENT UNDER A FRACTIOUS CONGRESS PARTY

so avoid for another election, and the second because the Congress party will be sure to find Rao as absolutely safe constituency.

Rao's rise to the leadership of the party followed the assassination of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi on May 21 and the refusal of Rajiv's widow, Sonia, to take his place despite the pleas of the Congress leadership. Rao, a legal Congress member for five decades, had served in senior cabinet portfolios under

both Rajiv and his mother, Indira Gandhi, who was herself assassinated in 1984. Rao is widely respected as a scholar who speaks 14 languages and as a politician who remains unassisted by the stigma of corruption that many of his colleagues share. But Rao and the 14 cabinet ministers who were sworn in with him face challenges more critical than at any time in India's modern history.

As India's economy's traditional problems of poverty, illiteracy, disease, corruption and bureaucratic inertia, the Rao administration faces increasing separatist violence in the states of Punjab, Assam, and Jammu and Kashmir. It must also cope with an upsurge of conflict within India's rigid caste system, and with Hindu fundamentalist agitation that clearly concerns the 170 million-strong Muslim minority. In addition, the nation of 844 million people has massive economic problems, including an annual inflation rate of 17 per cent.

The government will have to consider taking such drastic and unpopular steps as cutting basic food subsidies to reduce the country's \$76-billion external debt and \$6-billion budget deficit. It was that situation that led Pervaiz, Rao's rival for the leadership, to declare that only a unified Congress party "can pull the country out of the deep economic anguish and restore the confidence and credibility of the nation."

But the new government had an even more urgent priority last week. Before he was officially sworn in, Rao ordered a three-month postponement of the elections that were to have been held on Sunday in Punjab. In that predominantly Sikh state, more than 3,500 people, including 23 parliamentary candidates, have died in separatist violence this year. Sikh terrorists left 78 people dead in two attacks on passenger trains on June 25. Despite that situation, opposition parties and members of the Sikh community jointly condemned the election postponement. Said Arun Singh, a Sikh resident of New Delhi: "It shows that the Congress remains undemocratic and authoritarian. They indicated that they would either postpone or side with the government in the upcoming vote of confidence. In doing so, the opposition politicians were clearly hearing a message conveyed by the record-low turnout during the recent polling that the electorate is angry at politicians who manipulate for party advantage and who use their positions for their own financial gain."

Only 53 per cent of the country's 820 million registered voters went to the polls, leading Arun Singh, a senior member of the Congress party, to comment last week: "Each one of us has to search our hearts that neither swaying abstention nor demands of self-clad out judgment."

Judging by Rao's household, if undemocratic

and record, India's new leader is not a man of reading abilities. The issue is whether he can control his unruly party while tackling the country's profound problems. No less than the stability of the world's largest democracy is at stake.

JONAH BIERMAN with
AJAY DUBE in New Delhi



Hindu revivalists at locations of Rajiv Gandhi's assassination: Bloody riots



MANOJ SINHA/REUTERS

World Notes

SURRENDER OF A KINGPIN

Pablo Escobar, the so-called godfather of the Medellin cocaine cartel, turned himself in to Colombian authorities, along with several of his top associates, after a long prison break dragging with him to try to buy his freedom. Police across Escobar, a 43-year-old multimillionaire, of conducting a series of bombings and assassinations that has killed hundreds of people during a two-year drug war. Escobar, who also has links to kidnapping and murder charges in the United States, surrendered hours after a special Colombian assembly voted to free him extrajudicially, the weapon that the mobster's drug lord used—albeit threats and bribes have made Colombian courts notoriously soft on traffickers. Police took Escobar to a maximum-security prison in a southern prison near Medellin, now awaiting trial on his various federal charges. Although President Chávez of Venezuela granted him a pardon, the arrest may mean "the end of narco-kingdom in Colombia," local police predicted. Escobar has been held eight years in jail at most.

ILLUSION ON TOBACCO

Just a week after his election as president of the powerful Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin travelled to Washington to urge the government to establish direct relations with individual Soviet republics. Yeltsin, who was mobbed by well-wishers at Washington's Lincoln Memorial and received standing ovations from congressional leaders, also advocated independence for the three Baltic republics.

BANNING ABORTION

The Louisiana legislature voted by 84 to 7 to require two-thirds majority to approve Roe v. Wade (Bobby) Roman's web of a controversial abortion law. The new legislation outlaws abortion except in cases of rape, incest or to save the life of the mother. The law, which states no provision for an abortion when a woman's health is endangered, is the most restrictive in the United States.

OPENING A MYSTERY

Authorities briefly concealed the remains of Zachary Taylor, the 12th president of the United States, from a crypt in Louisville, Ky. They will spend about two weeks testing tissue samples for traces of arsenic and other poisons to determine whether he was the first U.S. president to be assassinated. Historian Gershom Rosen pressed for the exhumation after concluding that Taylor's sudden death on July 4, 1850, which most historians say was due to an intestinal disorder, was suspicious.

A tale of two cities

The government abandons Bonn for Berlin

It was a battle pitting Beethoven against Beethoven, a genuine backbiter against a brash outgrowth, a matriarch against history. And it seemed to symbolize, for both east and west, conflicting visions of a reunited Germany. After a passionate, sometimes rancorous 13-hour debate in the Bundestag, the lower house of parliament, deputies voted 336 to 321 last week to move their government from Bonn to Berlin. Over the next 12 years, the German chancellor, the Bundestag and its ministries will abandon Bonn, a quiet city of 271,000 people nestled among meandering canals on the Rhine River. They will move 850 km northward to a bustling center of 3.4 million at the heart of eastern Germany, renowned for its artisanship, ex-wannabes, its skinheads and radicals—and for the scars of its Nazi past and the divided rule that followed. "To Berlin," declared German President Richard von Weizsaecker, a former mayor of the city, "we look better than anyone else who chose meiosis. This is the place for Germany's political life." Arguing for Berlin last week, Chancellor Helmut Kohl evoked past imperial Berlin, but the city at risk after the war, a pile of rubble where about 150,000 people had died. The allies, represented by Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union, divided the city. The western half was rebuilt and widely

For decades, the West German Government described Bonn as only a temporary capital. But the treaty that formally made Bonn the capital of reunified Germany last October, although officially naming Berlin the capital, mandates that the government steadily move there. Practical considerations favor Bonn: estimates of the cost of moving the government range from \$1 billion to as much as \$20 billion. But for many Germans, the issue is much deeper. To some, Bonn, a predominantly middle-class city known mainly as the birthplace of conqueror Ludwig van Beethoven, represented efficiency and order. From Bonn, with its proximity to the rest of the Western world—just 60 km from the Federal Republic's capital, Frankfurt—Germany's new European capital could emerge as the key arbiter of the post-Cold War order of the *Ex-West*, an order

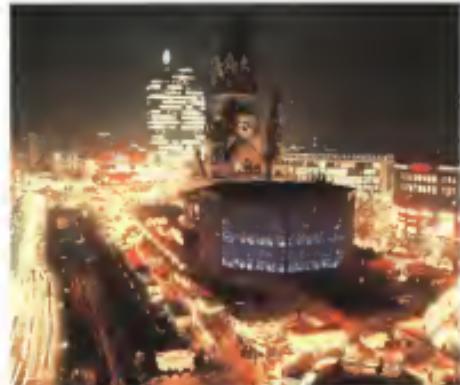
But Berlin also never accommodated memory as the seat of Nazi grandeur. It became Germany's capital when Otto von Bismarck named the nation in 1871. After the First World War, the city reached summit as a berth of intellectual ferment. But that period ended abruptly when Adolf Hitler launched his brutal campaign to subdue Europe, as men that signed prominently in the recent capital debate: "What good is a great big Berlin with great big Nazis?" asked Eli Wallach, a professor at Columbia University. "We know from history, this country's been, you know, Hitler, Hitler, Hitler."

Since transformation, Delek has become a leader

tripped and, with a shortage of 150,000 apartments, squatting occupy barely habitable structures. Riots erupted last year when police tried to evict them. And the bitterness among many eastern Berliners is palpable. After the euphoria of the 1989 revolution, the cold realities of the free market are forcing most of the east's inefficient businesses into bankruptcy.

An estimated 46 per cent of workers are unemployed or underemployed. According to recent opinion polls, a slight majority of western Germans favours Bonn as the capital, but more than 70 per cent of communists supported Berlin. said Reinhard Schmitz, TI, an eastern Berlin peasant: "We are tired that much by the west." Adds east Berlin chamber Latin Soethausen, 43: "Let those hit-east Bonn do politics in their bar offices see the problems we have."

The move to Berlin will create new job



Earlier this year, Koenigstanz formed Cetra, the city's own urban regeneration company.

had as a standard-bearer of democracy, consistently supported by the Communist East.

walled fortresses, where small castles dotted the landscape of western Europe. In 1461, the eastern empire, whose leaders expected reinforcements from Karl Mart and condonated drug apartment complexes, but failed to regulate bullet-pocked facades. Many residents looked longingly to the West—and some attempted dredged crossings through the heavily gilded wall. About 2000

MARY NIEMETH with

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OVER 30,000 BEACHES,
NO WONDER
ULYSSES TOOK
TEN YEARS
TO GET HOME



UPTON KING OF BRAK THE FUGITIVE VICTIM
OF THE TEN STAR TROYAN WAR WITH ERIK, HIS LONG
TO-EAT HOME, POSSIBLY DUE TO AN ERIKAN WAR
CONFLICT BETWEEN THE VIGKE TO GET HOME AND

A WHITE HORSE TURBOGET SEA DOTTED WITH MORE THAN 100 ISLANDS AND THE INVITATION OF OVER 800 KILOMETERS OF 2000 BRANCHED COASTLINES. BAYAWE AND THE BODDIES DELIGHTS OF BERMUDA BEACHES REVEALING REMAINS WHERE THE SUN SHINES FOR ALMOST 300 DAYS. THESE ARE THE SEAS WHICH THE SOULS TRAVELED. THESE ARE THE SEAS THAT AWOKE THE DREAMS.

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WORLD



Barriers at racially mixed beach: economic sanctions may soon be lifted

SOUTH AFRICA

Removing the color bar

Parliament repeals a discriminatory law

Although she was born in the South African city of Johannesburg, Sandra Lung was officially classified as "white." But at the age of 10, after other children and their parents complained that she was not in fact white, the police sent her to her whiteness school and ordered her to leave. Reclassified as "colored," Sandra was ostracized by the community at which she had been raised. Her parents and two brothers, who remained classified as white, initially supported her. But they gave up when she closed, aged 18, with a man classified as black. She has not seen her parents and siblings since. Last week, Lung, who is now 25, divorced and the mother of three children, responded strongly to the report that the South African parliament had repealed the law that had blighted her life. At her home in the ramshackle colored colony of Grootfontein, near Johannesburg, she fingered the law that a policeman had decided were too tall for those of a person who had been designated as white, and said: "It's nice, but I don't care anymore. It's too late for me."

In acknowledging the repeal of the 41-year-old Population Registration Act by an overwhelming 257-to-34 parliamentary vote on June 12, the nation's president, F.W. de Klerk, did away with the last and most significant remnant of apartheid legislation. The act had shamed all of South Africa into one of four racial groups: white, colored, Asian and black. Its segregated infrastructure the die-hard whites of the opposition Conserva-

tive Party, but paved the way for South Africa's return to international respectability. President George Bush said that he hoped soon to lift economic sanctions. Canada and other Western governments indicated that they would likely follow suit. And Kenya promptly ended a 15-year-old ban on sporting competition with South Africa.

But one further obstacle remained to the start of negotiations between the government and the African National Congress on a possible constitution, which would give the vote to blacks. That was the continued detention of a disputed number of political prisoners. The ANC claimed that almost 1,000 such prisoners remained behind bars, while the government insisted that all those who fit its definition of political prisoner had been released.

Meanwhile, ANC officials, while welcoming the repeal, urged the retention of sanctions until South Africa makes further progress. Pending a dispensation between white and black passes and the only partial integration of state schools, an ANC statement declared: "As far as such firmly entrenched conditions, the Population Registration Act will have been removed in name only." But whatever remains come next, for Sandra Lung and thousands like her, the last and sharpest might never be removed.

JOHN BERNMAN with CHRIS ERADIKUS
in Cape Town and HELENY MACKENZIE
in Washington

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Honda assembly plant in Afton, Ont.: the latest in a series of confrontations over Canada-U.S. automotive trade

BUSINESS

A COLLISION COURSE

Less than a decade ago, the 450-acre site was covered with potato plants. Now, a sprawling Honda Canada Inc. assembly plant rises from the rolling countryside near Afton, Ont., turning out more than 100,000 cars a year and employing 2,500 workers. For area residents, the factory's opening in 1986 was an anticipated blessing, pumping millions of dollars a year into the local economy. But last week, the Honda plant came under fire from customs officials and politicians in the United States, who charged that the company had failed to meet North American content requirements set out in the 1988 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Although Honda denied the allegations, U.S. trade analysts say that the dispute could damage a vital sector of the Canadian economy—and almost certainly damage future investment in Canada by Asian automakers. "It's a catastrophe," said Patrick Lavelle, a former Ontario deputy minister of trade. "The Americans are saying that if the Japanese build new plants,

A CRACKDOWN BY U.S. CUSTOMS COULD THREATEN ASIAN INVESTMENT IN CANADA'S AUTO INDUSTRY

They'll better be in the United States."

Indeed, the controversy over Honda's U.S.-bound exports is only one of several confrontations between Canada and the United States over automotive trade. In Washington last week, Democratic House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt called for a sweeping investigation of all foreign car models made in Canada

for export to the United States. Declared Gephardt, a vocal protectionist: "It's time that our trading partners know that the days of abusing our laws are over." In addition, U.S. officials are pressuring Canada to raise the North American content requirement for vehicles built in so-called transplant factories to 60 per cent from 50 per cent, in order to qualify for duty-free entry into the United States. And some U.S. trade analysts add that the Bush administration is bent on renegotiating the terms of the Canada-U.S. auto trade during the current round of three-way trade talks with Mexico, threatening the concessions won by Canada under the 1985 Auto Pact.

The allegations against Honda are contained in a preliminary U.S. customs audit that was leaked to *The New York Times*. The report says that only 28 per cent of the value of the parts and labor in the Honda Civics shipped to the United States from Afton in 1989 and 1990 qualified as North American. If the auditor's findings are upheld, Honda could be liable

for \$32 million in U.S. import duties.

Although Honda Canada spokesman Dennis Manning said that company executives have yet to see the report, he insisted that the Civic model exceeds the 50-per-cent North American content requirement. He noted that Honda manufactures all of the car's outer body panels at the Afton plant and imports stampings from a Honda factory in Anna, Ohio. The car's transmission, muffler, windshield and wipers, fuel tank and seats are also made in North America, the company says.

The outcome of the Honda case is certain to affect Canadian-based exporters in other sectors. Analysts say that it is the first major test of the so-called rules of origin in the 1988 trade pact. Under the FTA, manufacturers in either country can ship up goods across the border at reduced tariff rates—or, in some cases, duty-free—provided that they meet certain North American content requirements, which vary according to the industry. The agreement lists specific types of components that companies can claim as Canadian content, but Canadian trade officials say that those lots are subject to interpretation.

"Unfortunately, this is the first in a series of audits that will establish the rules for all Canada-U.S. trade," said a senior federal industry department official, who asked not to be named.

Last month, U.S. customs examiners broadened their investigation of Asia-owned transplant factories to include the GM Autoport Inc. plant in Ingersoll, Ont., jointly owned by Japan's Suzuki Motor Co. and General Motors (GM). It produces Suzuki Swift, Chevrolet Sprint and Pontiac Firefly cars, as well as Suzuki Sidekick trucks. Canada's other Asian transplant, a Toyota Corolla plant in Cambridge, Ont., and a South Korean-owned Hyundai factory in Mississauga, Ont., have yet to be audited by U.S. customs. Hyundai is now paying the standard 2.5-per-cent duty on its U.S.-based vehicles because the company has insufficient North American content to qualify for duty-free status.

Trade analysts say that the Honda controversy shows how difficult it is to determine the exact origin of a car's components. Said the federal trade official: "Even if you take the entire vehicle apart and get down to the nuts and bolts, where did the steel for that set come from? Where did the energy to make the steel come from?" For his part, GM's vice-president of finance, Michael Hyne, says that his company's vehicles meet the 50-per-cent requirement. But he adds: "that

U.S. customs are bound to contest some of his claims. For one thing, Hyne's calculations include interest on bank loans used to build the plant and purchase equipment. The FTA refers specifically to "mortgage interest" as an allowable production cost, but makes no mention of other types of interest charges.

For many Canadian auto executives, the linked Honda audit is a worrisome sign of increasing U.S. inflexibility on some trade issues. In Ottawa last week, Trade Minister Michael Wilson played down the report's significance, noting that it is in a preliminary document. Privately, however, some of Wilson's advisers expressed concern about the leak. "One has to question motives when documents are released into the public domain," one official told *Markets*. He added that Canada's ambassador in Washington, Derek Buxton, is "aggressively pursuing" the issue and has expressed Canada's concern to the U.S. trade department.

Moreover, U.S. pressure on Asian-owned assembly plants to increase their North American parts purchases may already overrule the FTA's intent. In the negotiations aimed at creating a North American free trade zone under the Auto Pact, cars produced in Canada by the Big Three North American automakers are effectively required to have 50-per-cent Canadian content. By contrast, foreign automakers need only confirm in the 50-per-cent rule under the FTA to qualify for duty-free entry to the United States. "Canada generally has two rules and that's just not reasonable," says Peter Morris, a professor of Canadian studies at the University of Maine at Orono. "It's ludicrous to think that some imports of that aren't going to be affected by the negotiations with Mexico."

But Canadian auto executives warn that any alterations to the existing content rules would endanger the country's automotive industry. "Everyone here is very pleased with the success we've had in the market for Mexican auto-based auto parts manufacturer Magna International," says a spokesman. "The minimum-content requirement would act as an incentive for Asian companies to direct their future investments to the United States, where the parts industry is far larger than in Canada. For that reason alone, Ottawa and the Canadian auto-parts industry are likely to fight it front and hard as Honda against the challenge from south of the border."

JON DALT and BOSS LAVIER in Ottawa

Business Notes

THE PRICE IS RIGHT

Petro-Canada's first share offering, which raised \$534 million for 19.5 per cent of the Crown corporation, sold out within a day. Analysts said that the federal government set the share price at \$13, rather than the expected \$15, to compensate for Petro-Canada's weaker price financial performance. In the first three months of the year, the energy company reported a \$52-million loss on undistributed revenues. Ottawa says that the rest of the company will be privatized later.

DE HAVILLAND SALE GROUNDED

Industry Minister Michael Wilson rejected a proposal by a French-Italian consortium to buy Toronto-based De Havilland Aircraft of Canada Ltd. Federal officials said that the European bid contained "unfair" benefits for De Havilland and would have required at least \$1 billion in government subsidies over the next 10 years. Wilson gave the consortium 30 days to come up with an improved offer for De Havilland, now owned by Boeing Co. of Seattle.

UNION SKIDS CAR IN PRF

The United Steelworkers of America asked a 4,985 members who work at Algoma Steel Corp. Ltd. of Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., to take temporary pay cuts of up to \$3 an hour. Union officials said that the proposed four-month cut, which would save an estimated \$10 million if it also included the 1,315 non-unionized personnel, could help keep the company afloat until the end of the year. The union and the company, owned by Dallas Inc. of Hamilton, are currently trying to agree on a restructuring plan to save the financially troubled steelmaker.

TRADE JUMP FURS OPTIMISM

Canadian export-import exports rose sharply in April, a sign that the long-awaited economic recovery may have started. Exports, led by higher automotive shipments, rose \$518 million to \$13.45 billion, while imports plunged \$579 million to \$11.16 billion. Statistics Canada said that the manufacturing output rose in April for the second consecutive month.

JACKMAN FLIPS VARIETY

Prominent Toronto businessman Harry (H.B.) Jackman emerged from the board of Variety Corp., in protest over the company's plan to transfer its retail office from Toronto to Buffalo, N.Y. Jackman, who is chairman of a holding company that controls National Thrifty Inc. of Stratford, Ont., had been a member of the board since 1974, when Variety was known as Massey-Ferguson Ltd.



Peter Morris demanding a sweeping investigation



Common sense to the rescue

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

This special issue of *Maclean's* provides the opportunity to consider the alternatives, most Canadians are ready to give the country another chance—not as some vindictive's vague utopia, but as a courageous people who care enough to do it together.

That's an epic breakthrough, considering the lastest most Canadians seem to feel about national unity. Saving the country is turning out to be a growth industry for usless employed academics and leftists.

According to a recent Brierley poll, the proportion of Canadians who identify with Quebec (either with their roots or present) has dropped to 46 per cent from 64 per cent in the past decade. At the same time, an Angus Reid Group survey shows that 80 per cent of Canadians believe that the country is about to split up. Yet in a study by Prof. Reginald Blaikie of the University of Lethbridge in Alberta, Canadians ranked national survival only 12th out of 19 "very important" facets facing the country. And a May poll by Corporate Research Associates of Halifax reveals that only 4 per cent of Atlantic Canadians—who would be the most affected by a Quebec split—consider national unity the country's most pressing priority.

We're a strange people.

Mostly every time freedom is threatened anywhere on the globe, we march in as peacekeepers. Five times this century, we've mobilized highly effective forces to subdue embattled regimes at far away as Korea and Kuwait. Yet when the continued existence of Canada is threatened—as it is, surely, if we must break, yawn and wonder, "What else is new?"

This unwillingness to get excited about our own future is rooted in Canadian history. Becoming a Canadian never required conversion to any humanistic faith; we have no equivalent of the American dream. The country survived up until, based on individual ingenuity, however reluctantly given, rather than some grand social compact.

Considering the alternatives, most Canadians are ready to give the country another chance

far has current constitutional committee to report its findings—or which the federal position will be mainly based.

Trying to rescue Canada in that brief interval of 60 days would be like trying to scale Mount Everest on a dinner date. It can't be done. Timing has become the central problem. The Meech Lake fiasco proved that the pressure of a self-exposed deadline is counterproductive. As politician Pauline Marois said, "The millions of average Canadians who initially welcomed the Meech Lake story with the diameter of sun-dow-shoppers were transformed into an ugly mob ready to torch the state."

The politicians are not only repeating the mistake of setting a deadline they can't meet, they're also telling us—just as they did in June, 1990—that if the newest constitutional arrangement isn't approved, the country will disappear, split up, be kaput, done for. This time, it could be a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The moods of French and English Canada are not only drifting apart, but insipid. Politicians indicate that there is almost no support in the rest of Canada for Quebec's preferred option of sovereignty-association. Most English-Canadians refuse to consider the prospect of negotiating an economic union with Quebec as an independent state and laugh at a Quebec Liberal party report's suggestion that the province should continue receiving federal equalization payments after separation.

Ironically, nationalist constitutional experts testifying before Quebec's Bélanger-Campagne commission acknowledged that the Canadian Constitution has no provision allowing a province to withdraw from Confederation. José Bégin, a law professor at the University of Montreal who testified before the committee, suggested that it would be a lot easier under the Constitution to pass an amendment allowing Quebec to depart than trying to alter the rules in a way that would allow the province to stay.

That's a highly dubious proposition because no federal political leader, nor any premier, would want to be remembered as having presided over the death of the country. Even if they haven't learned anything about avoiding deadlines, our politicians cannot avoid misleading people, rather than only themselves, in devising a formula for national salvation. A new constitution, no matter how cleverly worded, that lacks direct public support is doomed. Yet any amendment held by Ottawa to approve its constitutional initiative is bound to be interpreted as a popularity poll on Brian Mulroney's administration. Mulroney can engineer a dramatic controversy, that could doom us right there.

Few at the Canadian whop-keep-in-the-Meech's weekend on the country's future share common cause. That's why they were poised to reflect accurately the current fragmentation of the country and the confused state we face. The even if they share no sustaining faith, they do share an attitude.

They know that because of all the dissensions and shattered illusions, it may be absurd to advocate innovation and reform of the Canadian state. But they also believe that it would be more absurd not even to try.

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Dressing in moods

Body heat makes a new fabric change colors

A first glance, a new, best-selling line of U.S. sportswear appears to stay easily. A casual break of a hand on the fabric leaves a pink imprint, while a blast of cold air turns the fabric blue. Then, a simple change in body heat or the weather can change the colors again. The unusual hue swings are not an accident. Hand— and sometimes disguised—as the "mood rings of the Nineties," thermochromic fabrics containing special liquid crystals are becoming a popular item throughout the United States and abroad. "In two days, we were totally sold out," said Jon Chambers, assistant manager of Marvins clothing store in Paducah, Ky., about 330 km south-west of Louisville. "We have never had these kind of sales."

The heat-sensitive garments are scientists' latest contribution to the world of fashion—but people are buying them simply for the fun of it. Britain's Royal Society of Chemistry recently marked its 150th anniversary with a London exhibition showing garments featuring thermochromic effects, from denim to screens produced with a special ink produced by Marvins Ltd. in Dagenham, England. At 30°C, the black material becomes red and adopts other colors before turning blue at 33°. Meanwhile, the Geneva Sportswear Co. Inc. of Seaford is using a thermochromic fabric dye, made by Kyoto, Japan-based Matsuo Shikiso Chemical Co. Ltd., to produce its 1990s-style line of T-shirts, shorts, socks, sweatshirts and jeans. Geneva chairman Steven Marks says that the company's exclusive rights in the dye outside Japan led to U.S. sales of more than \$75 million since Geneva introduced the line in January. But the backlog of orders has forced the company to delay plans to sell the line through Toronto-based Jockey of Canada until next



Thermochromic clothes: hot

Jockey, St. Paul, Minn. "We just can't keep up." Despite the publicity surrounding their newest applications, thermochromic materials have been used for years in the academic community. Doctors can use temperature-sensitive liquid crystals that change color to identify circulation problems or tumors, which are warmer than healthy tissue. Others use the crystals to identify temperature changes or to test in laboratory testing. Still, some chemists say that the fabrics appeal of the chemicals may outweigh some of the academic benefits. Said Luca Loiola, a chemistry professor at the University of Prince Edward Island in Charlottetown, "There are less flashy but more precise ways to assess temperature."

But fashion experts say that the crude showiness of thermochromic materials has added a new dimension to the current trend of tie-dyed, so-called "psychedelic" wear among teenagers. To cash in on the craze, Gestra is now planning a new collection of more color-sensitive fabrics that will change at 21°C instead of the current 20°. Some brand-new clothing executives say they prefer using regular dyes with thermochromic ingredients. Said Mark against Marvins' Seth Archer: "It's a more subtle effect than the crude 100-per-cent color." But fashion buyers remain skeptical that the fabric will keep its colors.

They say that despite company claims that "enduring" spots are avoided through "gradual coloration," there is still the risk that body heat will indefinitely account for stains or unwanted badges. As well, they say that the novelty may soon wear off. Said Chambers: "It's too trendy to be around next year." In the meantime, young consumers are convinced that this is one fad that stays hot.

DIANE BRADY

Olivetti Int'l CEO to discuss Open Markets and Open Systems at Toronto Luncheon

On July 10, Mr. Vittorio Cassoni, Managing Director and CEO of The Olivetti Group Worldwide, will be the honored guest at Olivetti Canada's fortieth anniversary luncheon in Toronto.

Mr. Cassoni, a leading figure in the International Information Industry, will speak on the global impact of Open Market Economics and its effect on Open Systems Technology.

The luncheon reception, being held at Four Seasons Hotel - Yorkville, begins at 11:45 a.m. with Mr. Cassoni's presentation at 12:45 p.m.

For more information or to place your reservation, please call before June 28, 1991.
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Glimpses of hope

Science turns its attention to an AIDS vaccine

For the past few anxiety-filled years, Ralph Oso, a Montreal microbiologist, has lived with the knowledge that he is infected with the human immunodeficiency virus, which most scientists say is the precursor to AIDS. But Oso, 30, says that he has not given up hope that science will develop a drug in the near future capable of preventing an infection from turning into full-blown AIDS. And Oso and that he was reassured when he heard reports of a new vaccine developed by Connecticut-based MacroGenics, Inc. and tested on HIV-infected patients at clinics in Montreal and in five U.S. centres. On his part, Dr. Christopher Tsoukas, who conducted the Montreal trials, has reported his findings at an international AIDS conference in Florence, Italy, last week, says: "The glimpses we have had of the vaccine at work are very positive and warrant more work."

While many scientists have focused their efforts on the development of drugs to treat

people who already have AIDS, vaccine research represents a change in direction. According to Tsoukas, an effective vaccine would equip the human immune system to recognize and attack the HIV as soon as infection occurs. Such a vaccine would prevent the virus from reproducing and attacking the body's immune system, leaving the infected individual vulnerable to debilitating and usually fatal infections. Still, Tsoukas said that it may be years before a safe, effective vaccine is available. Oso, for one, is aware that the vaccine may not be available in time to help him. Said Oso: "I would love to see a miraculous cure, but it seems unlikely."

At the Florence conference, which attracted 8,000 scientists and researchers, Dr. James C. of the Geneva-based World Health Organization told participants that there are now an estimated 18 million HIV-infected adults in the world, while more than 360,000 cases of AIDS have been reported in 162 countries. So far, the organization estimates, 1.5 million people

worldwide have died from AIDS-related complications. Oso added that by the turn of the century, as many as 48 million people could be HIV-positive and 10 million could be suffering from AIDS.

In an effort to lessen the AIDS death toll, researchers are increasingly trying to develop a vaccine to prevent HIV-infected people from getting AIDS. Besides MacroGenics, about half a dozen American biotechnology companies, including Millipore Corp. of Cambridge, Mass., and San Francisco-based Genentech Inc., are searching for an effective vaccine. As well, Dr. James Sulz, who developed the first polio vaccine in 1953, is also conducting AIDS vaccine research at the Immune Response Corp., a San Diego, Calif.-based biotechnology company. In Canada, the pathology and biology departments at McMaster University in Hamilton and the Ottawa-based Federal Centre for AIDS have teams of scientists conducting similar research.

Most of the progress involves the manipulation of proteins from the outer shell of the virus that causes AIDS. Those proteins are then injected into either animals or humans in an effort to elicit a response that will trigger a response by the subject's immune system. Michael O'Steaghsay, a virologist who is the director of the Bureau of Laboratories and Research in Ottawa, which is part of the Federal Centre for AIDS, said that many scientists believe that the human immune system in non-infected individuals already possesses the antibodies needed to attack and kill the virus. But O'Steaghsay



AIDS activists in Florence: little chance of saving the lives of current carriers

said that, under normal circumstances, the immune system does not recognize the virus or respond quickly enough when infection occurs. If a protective antibody is identified, it could become the basis for a vaccine.

Although such high-risk groups as male homosexuals have organized vocal campaigns to lobby for increased funding and research into a treatment for AIDS, scientists involved in vaccine research warn that they are still in the

early phases of testing their products. MacroGenics has been testing its product, known as Vardine, on human volunteers since September, 1987, but other U.S. companies are still testing their vaccines on animals. Tsoukas said that the purpose of the first round of testing on humans was to determine whether Vardine would produce any harmful side effects.

Despite that limited objective, the tests produced encouraging results. Starting in April,

1988, Vardine was administered over a six-month period to 20 volunteers, all of whom had tested positive for HIV, at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington. The trial subjects included men and women between the ages of 18 and 69. Similar trials, involving 20 people, were conducted at Montreal General Hospital, under Tsoukas's supervision, starting in February, 1988. According to a report published in the June 12 issue of *The New England Journal of Medicine*, among the 20 subjects in the Walter Reed trials, 19 had increased levels of anti-HIV antibodies in their blood after receiving injection of Vardine.

For his part, Tsoukas said that 20 of the 21 participants in the Montreal trials showed increased levels of T-cells, which are a key component in the body's immune system. Said Tsoukas: "Usually, you are happy with half or 60 per cent of the subjects succeed-

ing. We had over 90 per cent of 21 that did, suggesting there is an amazing feat." But despite these encouraging results, most scientists attending the Florence conference said that there was little hope of a vaccine being perfected soon enough to save the lives of the millions of people who already carry the deadly AIDS virus.

DARCY JENISH

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DENIAL AND SPECULATION

The wedding is off, but the saga continues. Last week, Kerin Beglin, a disc jockey at Memphis 97 radio in Memphis, Tenn., who has been a friend of Kristen Stewart's since childhood, denied reports that she is romantically involved with him. Meanwhile, Julie Roberts, who was to have married Stewart on June 14, went to Dublin in the company of actor Jason Priestly. Friends of Hollywood's most bankable actress and Donald Stewart's son insist that they still plan to marry. In any case, the publicity can only help Roberts' new film, the teenager Dying Young.

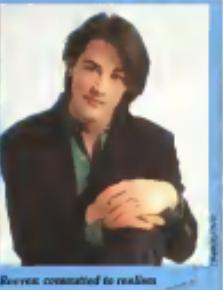
Roberts: the publicity can only help



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY D. STONE

Excellent dude

Canadian actor Keanu Reeves is back in the adventure business. Two years after his big about boys with a time machine, Bill & Ted's Excellent Adventure, Reeves has his first major still role in the new action film *Point Break*. And to get a feeling for his part as a daredevil FBI agent, Reeves tried skydiving. Said Reeves, 26, who grew up in Toronto: "I went to 12,500 feet. I pulled my own cord. It was amazing." But not everyone was as thrilled by his commitment to realism. Added Reeves: "The producers threatened me with lawsuits if I didn't stop jumping."



Reeves committed to realism

PERSONAL-TOUCH BANKING

Although he has declined honors in the past, last week Jean Vanier accepted the \$100,000 Bayfield Award for contributions to human welfare. Vanier, the see-and-forsee governor general Georges Vanier, who died in 1987, is the founder of L'Arche, an organization dedicated to caring for the mentally and physically handicapped. Said Vanier, 83, who will donate the money to L'Arche: "The idea that Vanier is as great because he's helping care of these terrible people is exactly the opposite of what L'Arche is about."

Saving a symbol

Her image graces the Canadian dime and the salts around North America—a kind of living museum, but the Biltmore it is in danger of falling apart. British author Douglas Reeman, 64, is one of many wealthy history buffs who are trying to raise \$5 million to replace the dry-stacked replica of the original 1895 Mountain schooner, the Biltmore. Last week, Reeman, who has sold millions of his 41 historical and historical novels, gave a reading from his latest, *Alleging Gound* about the Biltmore in a Toronto as part of the fund-raising effort. Said the 34-year writer, who has given only two public readings as a 34-year writer: "When I go back to England, I will be writing articles about leaving the Biltmore for several magazines. What's great about the Biltmore, unlike many other old schools, is that it actually works." Added Reeman, a former financial easy sailor: "Even though I write about the tea, it's difficult to explain the feeling I find riding the Biltmore. It's like a drug."

Reeman writing about saving the Biltmore



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MUSIC

Songs of pride

Kashkin's lyrics celebrate an ancient culture



Volant (left), McKeown: 'We're strong, and proud to sing in our own language.'

The stage, surrounded by hanging canvas sheets, resembled the inside of a giant tepee. And in the middle sat a man beasting a banjo-like 5,000-pound-type of lava drum made of stretched caribou skin. The scene in Toronto a few weeks ago suggested a坐子 of re-enactment of traditional native鼓声. But what followed was more mainstream pop concert. In fact, the pre-teen quills gave way to a Telecaster electric guitar, and the beats of the drums soon filled the air of the downtown rock club. The group was the duo Kashkin, hatched by a four piece band. And although Kashkin is made up of native Canadians Chantal McKeown, 32, and Forest Volant, 33, its sound is stamped to country-rock guitar and banjo/leap harmonicas, with one striking difference: McKeown and Volant sing in Montagnais, a language spoken by fewer than 15,000 people, the Montagnais—or Innu—of northern Quebec and neighboring Labrador.

Based in the small Montagnais reserve near Sept-Îles, Que., about 600 km north of Montreal, Kashkin (the name means "Horizon" in Montagnais) is a proof that native English/French is a prerequisite for success in Canadian pop. Sales of their debut album, released on Montreal's True-Canada label at the tail of 1989, are now approaching 300,000 copies—

an astounding figure for any domestic band, particularly one on a small independent label. And Kashkin sing in such as the catchy *E Dananane*: *My Childhood* has had significant airplay in both Canada and France, where the group's albums have sold another 35,000 copies.

Kashkin's next album is not due until November. But in the meantime, McKeown and Volant are set to do what the same kind of artists do in North America: tour. They will play in Quebec. In concert, we expect the band will perform for some of its current and even to date, appearing on a special Canada Day concert on Parliament Hill in Ottawa and, on July 6, at the Toronto South Street Festival, an event showcasing First Nations, Inuit and Japanese-Canadian culture at Toronto's Harbourfront. And although McKeown and Volant hopefully will offend politics, they do see their role as one of bridge-builders to their people and bridging Canada's different cultures. Said Volant: "We think we can make unity with the other nations with our music."

To convert lost souls to Toronto's Opera House nightshift, Kashkin brought together a diverse crowd with a sound that Volant calls "Innu rock 'n' roll." But the group's style appeals much to fans of folk music and even of so-called worldbeat—or ethnic pop—music, breaking as it does influences ranging from Bob

Dylan to the Gipsy Kings. Backed by four acoustic Montreal musicians, McKeown and Volant showcased their collective talents and then took turns providing glances at their individual backgrounds with soft smiles. Volant, seated on a stool with an acoustic guitar, strummed and softly sang a French-English version of "Tom Dooley," and then gave his rendition of Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind." By contrast, McKeown raced through Bob Dylan numbers, including "Highway 61 Revisited" and "Like a Rolling Stone," both singing about the stages of memory, frequently in his song.

In a recent interview, the differences between the two men became even more apparent. Volant, married with four children, is the more thoughtful songwriter. McKeown, who is single, has the irrepressible charm of a spiky-haired Teen Cruiser. This place, said McKeown, evoking the restaurateur's bright chandeliers and crisp table linens, "is a Jack Nicklaus type of place." And then, pausing for a hearty laugh, he added: "That's that guy. He always says who's movie." Volant, round-faced and smiling, was quick to get the subject back to music. "My first real hero was Paul McCartney," he said, "and not just because he has a great voice, but because he's left-handed. That makes him different."

With his roots in the Maliseet reserve, Volant is much more of an original in the world of pop. He grew up with his brothers and sisters and the reserve's poverty and alcoholism. And he recalls watching his father give up a traditional life of hunting and fishing in order to work "for the white man" in a large Quebec iron mine. Identifying with McCartney, the teenage Volant picked up a guitar and began singing Montagnais songs with Beatles tunes in a band that played in the bars around the reserve. By 28, he had met McKeown, whom family had moved to Montréal, and they started writing songs together. Five years later, Montréal music producer Guy Trippener used them on a TV music program featuring one of their reserve concerts and soon after flew to the reserve to arrange a record deal.

According to Volant, it was natural for Kashkin to write in Montagnais. "We dooss in our Innu language and we speak in our Innu language," he said. "Why wouldn't we sing in our Innu language as well?" But while one song, the title track *Tomash (When We Are)*, has become something of a cult classic in Innu communities, it is about the music that they were separated when several Quebec radio stations heaped their airwaves during last year's Oka crisis. Recalled McKeown: "People call us the radio station and say, 'Where are they doing? That music is not dangerous, right?'"

Still, Volant maintained that by as very instance, Kashkin is helping the native cause. "I think the music is a way that says, 'We're here and we're safe,'" he said. "It also says, 'We're strong and we're proud to sing in our own language!'" That message, delivered at brassy songs with many two-part harmonies, is going out loud and clear.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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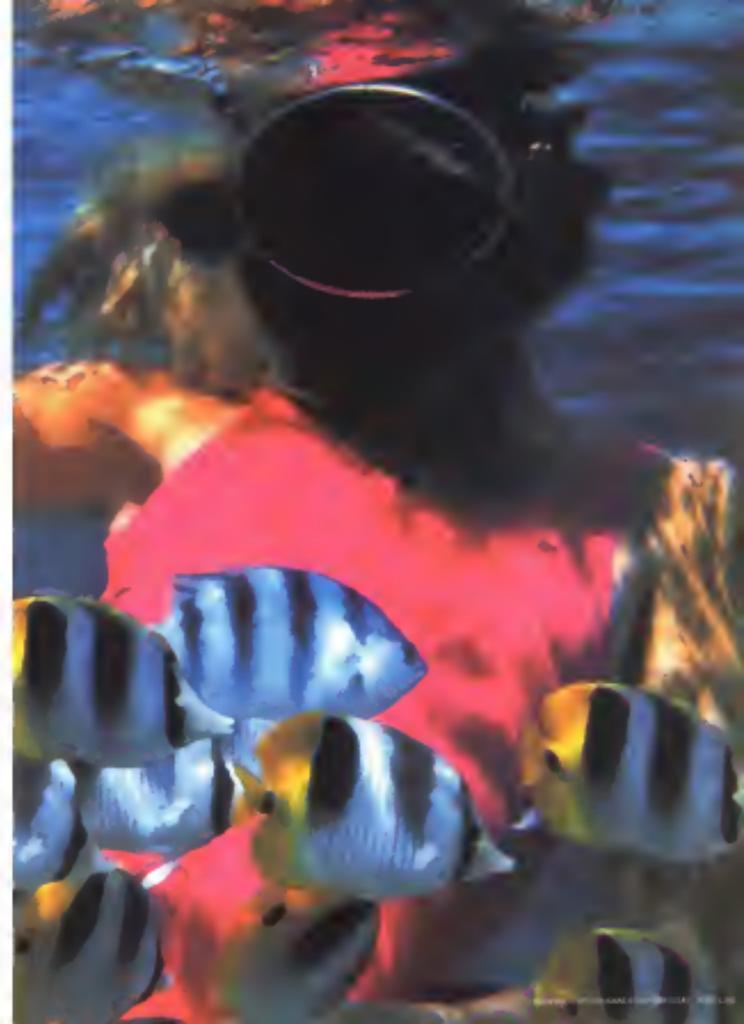
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Bull's supergun: too big to aim, too easy for surveillance satellites to detect

BOOKS

A master of war

Gerald Bull lived and died by the gun

ARMS AND THE MAN

By William Lowther
(Doubleday, 259 pages, \$27.50)

For the last year of his life, before he was gunned down at the age of 62 outside his Brussels apartment on March 22, 1990, Gerald Bull was a frightened man. The Canadian-born scientist and weapons designer had confided to friends that intruders were entering his residence while he was away. Once, they had rearranged some furniture. Another time, they had removed a set of glasses from a cupboard and replaced them with new ones. On one occasion, they had left a single strand of long, black hair on a white bedsheet. In *Arms and the Man*, his fascinating new biography of Bull, Washington Post reporter William Lowther reveals that the scientist felt comfortable only when he was in "long working" on weapons systems for Saddam Hussein.

Lowther's book is the second this year to examine the life of Bull. *Arms and the Man* is far more colorful, engaging and enlightening than the first biography, *Widowmen of War* (Prentice-Hall), written by Toronto-based defense journalist Dale Grait. Lowther based his account on revealing interviews with the slain man's family and friends. Pully's third of

Arms and the Man, a defence research funding was cut off. Unbeknownst, Bull found private investors.

But because contracts for pure scientific research were scarce, Bull began designing weaponry and quickly gained an international reputation as a "Mr. Fixit" for artillery. Over a 10-year period, military representatives of more than 30 countries visited his facilities at Highgate, Ont. But in 1968, he was convicted of the United States of selling gas bombs and a nuclear "breaker" system to South Africa, to constructors of an embassy. After serving 48 months in a maximum-security prison, he set up operations in Brussels in 1974.

Lowther's narrative is filled with dramatic details there—the Chinese, who were interested in his artillery and the British, who wanted his artillery and his supergun. The author claims that Bull managed to have a barrel over three feet in diameter and a length of 513 feet. It could have fired two-ton projectiles. The use of a telephone book into outer space. But Lowther argues that the gas would have been useless, too big to aim and too easy for surveillance satellites to detect because of the 300-foot flame accompanying each firing.

Bull's fatal mistake, the author concludes, was to serve as an adviser to the Iraqi missile program. According to Lowther, the Israelis had regarded Bull as just another arms developer until he switched with seeming disregard into the sights of those determined to keep large and accurate missile systems out of Saddam's hands—at any cost.⁴ Technically brilliant but politically naive, Bull paid for his mistake with his life.

DARCY JENSEN

Maclean's

REVIEWER: DARCY JENSEN

FICTION

- 1 *The Kitchen God's Wife*, Tan (35)
- 2 *As the Crow Flies*, Archer (31)
- 3 *Memento*, Deighton
- 4 *"It" Is for Hernia*, Grahame (20)
- 5 *Irreversible*, Kundera (32)
- 6 *Stephani's Story*, Smith (31)
- 7 *Revelation*, DeLillo (41)
- 8 *The Sorrows of Kell*, Kiltz (41)
- 9 *A Soldier of the Great War*, Majewski (7)
- 10 *The Novel*, McEwan (39)

NONFICTION

- 1 *The Roots of Disease*, Kauer (32)
- 2 *Inevitable*, DeLillo (31)
- 3 *Trojans, Pioneers, Magi* (7)
- 4 *Wandy Allie*, Lau (2)
- 5 *The Correspondence*, Woodward (8)
- 6 *Bully for Bureaucrats*, Gould (21)
- 7 *Churchill & Me*, Cohen (50)
- 8 *Five in the Belly*, Kerr
- 9 *Imaginary Homelands*, Amis (11)
- 10 *Workaholic*, Ellinger (5)

(1) *Positive list only*

Compiled by Brian Betzen



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Tricks of youth, seen from the shade

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There is, you see, this young lady, not a terribly sophisticated traveler, but ever willing for adventure. She was taken, at age 12, to see Guy Pearce. A half-block away from the subway station, in a taxi, she declared, "I get it. Everyone just drives wherever they want"—precious and accurate description of Paris driving patterns. She was accompanied by another 12-year-old girlfriend who had been in the city before and explained, when the painted ladies began to gather beneath the trees of the boulevards of the Champs Elysées at sunset, to intercept the busconneses carrying home to the suburbs, that the younger females in high heels were "bad girls"—when, you think about it, not in the least bit dangerous. The neophyte 12-year-old said, "I think it's important to look out for these girls."

So, it is now 10 years later and the damsel in question is in Jerusalem. The constant berets may have blushed the corn silk to nearly white. This, apparently, affects a certain type of male, men being as we know single digits before female wiles. At position, there is a beefy specimen who another generation would describe as a lounge lizard. If truth be known, he would look better in a lounge, with his clothes on. He does not know it, but he looks 50-B.

He sits in, he postures, he pauses by set-timers. As elsewhere, safe at a distance—under the shade of a tree, his hand in danger of ramming into corn silk, reenvisages the tomorrow tactics of the lass who apparently does not own a full-length mirror. Eventually, of course, he sits down beside her pity. Like a coffee? No thanks. Like a drink? No thanks. The chap under the tree can recognize lip sync better than Miss Vailli.

It's a fact of life that people who are completely insensitive cannot be trusted. They are insatiate (back there, Bill Vander Zanden). The candidate for 30-B permits, or through dinner invitations, the attention being they might lead to something really exciting. The chap has never heard of quitting while you're behind. He slides—rather, jiggles—away.



The young woman with the sun-baked face is now in Egypt. The sunbaked winner this time is an American—in other, to be exact. He is very quick winks to know the hotel room number. When the dinner invitation is declined, he suggests marriage instead. Late movies nearby at these hot climes. He places his phone at adorably hours of the evening. The pursued, looking more like prey every day, takes to sprouting through the hotel lobby to the elevators, possibly surprising the latest urban tales of Big Johnson.

One night, returning from dinner, it is clear collaboration among the hotel staff have been arranged to be tipsters, the room number being an obvious valuable item. After a suitable interval, there is a faint knock in the (very valuable) room door. The reason, one detects, why the knock is so faint is that a "minder"—a chapillon with no corn silk—right to seat door and in danger of being unmasked.

The story, one assumes, will be continued.

Come closer, said the web to the spider. The faint knock grows increasingly louder. Duly an enraged older male voice, decidedly non-Egyptian, purrs the purple duck night. One more unlikely candidate-disappears—back into silence. The subject in question is now returned to Jerusalem, and the chap is from Peru. Superb answers. He is in hotel management. Good family, one detects. With money, one discerns. The problem, it seems, is that his trousers are too short. "Floods," her brother calls them. A polite young man from a nice, well-known South American family? What doesn't make? It means nothing, apparently, since the darning fruit of short-sightedness is, it turns out, a tremendous fear in the world of young romance. What can a chap swing under the trees of life any?

She is now in Rome. Unintroduced for several hours, she is at the foot of the Spanish Steps, a dangerous place to be. The Spanish Steps, as we all remember, became famous for all manner tourists through Audrey Hepburn—and the iconic Gregory Peck—in Roman Holiday. The movie also made Audrey Hepburn famous, from which she has never recovered, and as a result every touristic touristic tourist hangs around the fountains beneath, with the result that, well, and Shellie and I live well—wearing our youthful impacts and well-known products of her Longar breeding who are trying to hide their backgrounds.

There is, apparently, this chap in a sweater who, presumably, follows the blonde for some form, as meaning as he is public. He is a real estate. He is 35. He has gone to school, briefly, in California, in Boston. His trousers, one assumes, are the proper length. The motor scooter, in any event to Rome, is the only mode of transportation, since car traffic in the inner city is more dangerous than the muggings of Kuwait, and therefore 97.2 per cent of the Roman population travels about on scooters, motorbikes and motorcycles—meaning that one gets the impression of being attacked, at all hours, by a swarming nest of daring hornets.

What the young do, it turns out, after sitting around the fountains, is to go down to the Colosseum, climb over the iron-tipped lenses forbidding anyone from entering and lookey around until dawn. Mainly because it is forbidden. Her chapillon used to do equally stupid things. That's it next. The real estate chap, who dresses rather well, this being Italy, arrives every night at 10:30, cleaning that is the end of his working hours. Sure.

The story, one assumes, will be continued.

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But that's okay, because we know there will always be a couple of things we do that can't be copied.

And why they can't.

While it's true that much of what we do can be copied, how we do it can't.

It's what we call service. Personal, international, around the clock service.

Our international service network can be accessed at any time, from any phone.

And the service doesn't stop until you are satisfied your problem is solved.

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